

AKWESASNE NOTES

•WHERE THE PARTRIDGE DRUMS•

50 cents

RAY SHACKELTON

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“FOR CENTURIES WE HAVE KNOWN THAT EACH INDIVIDUAL'S ACTION CREATES CONDITIONS AND SITUATIONS THAT AFFECT THE WORLD. FOR CENTURIES WE HAVE BEEN CAREFUL TO AVOID ANY ACTION UNLESS IT CARRIED A LONG-RANGE PROSPECT OF PROMOTING HARMONY AND PEACE IN THE WORLD. IN THAT CONTEXT, WITH OUR BROTHERS AND SISTERS OF THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE WE HAVE JOURNEYED HERE TO DISCUSS THESE IMPORTANT MATTERS WITH THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE FAMILY OF MAN.”



—GENEVA REPORT—U.N. SPEECHES—THE WHITE BACK-LASH—MORE—

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This Autumn, one of the significant events of this decade occurred. The Non-Governmental Organizations of the United Nations held a conference on "Discrimination Against the Indigenous Populations of the Americas," a conference which took place in Geneva Switzerland September 20 - 23. It was attended by 125 Native delegates, more than thirty countries, every major committee in the U.N., and covered by every major press service in the world.

But in the Western Hemisphere there has been an eerie silence. The mass media gave the event what would be called a "low profile." Even the Native publications have been giving the event scant coverage. Why?

Undoubtedly there are several explanations. In terms of the mass media, we have come to expect that they would not give much coverage to this story. Not that it was not a newsworthy event, but perhaps it was *too* newsworthy in the eyes of the interests that control the media. The Native message brought to Geneva was strong and unified. As this issue will reveal, Western Civilization undergoes a strong, unrelenting analysis and indictment.

But the relative silence in the Native press is somewhat bewildering. Understandably some of the newspapers did not have access to the story, and without that access they reported the NCAI convention and some of the disastrous bills pending in Congress. But in certain cases major Native newspapers had reporters at Geneva, and still they chose to give little space to the story. Could it be that the significance of Geneva was hard to grasp, or is the silence of the Native press a symptom of another problem? It is quite possibly both.

During the year-long preparations for the conference, the proposed conference raised many emotions. These emotions must be seen as reflections of our peoples' perception of themselves. For those who reacted with fear and anxiety, these emotions seem to grow out of a peoples' misunderstanding of the oppression they face. Many, on the other hand, welcomed the conference out of a belief in the people acting as a people, and that the struggle must be carried to a world forum.

The process that brought Native people to Geneva started 54 years ago, in 1923. At that time, a Cayuga chief, Deskaheh, travelled to Geneva in an attempt to bring his peoples' grievances before the League of Nations. Such a move in those days was extremely far-sighted and bold. Bold because the world order was controlled by Europe. Far-sighted because he saw that the settler regimes occupying the Western Hemisphere were incapable of rendering justice.

His move was thwarted by the powers that controlled the League of Nations. He died in exile from his homeland, but the spirit and direction of his effort did not die. Throughout Indian Country, many traditional people continued his vision and waited for the day when the world order would begin to change. Among the Hopi there is said to be a prophesy that tells them that they will travel to the East, to a house made of mica. In this house will be found representatives from all over the world. The Hopi will try three times to get the attention of these people. On the third try, three or four nations will come forth and offer their support.

The process which led to this kind of movement has quickened its pace over the past ten years. In 1968, the new wave of Native struggle began to take shape. During that year, Alcatraz was occupied, the American Indian Movement was founded, and Chief Robert Smallboy and his people left their reserve in Alberta to return to their traditional way of life in the Canadian Rockies. During the next four years, numerous events occurred throughout North America, all apparently unconnected. Land occupations, demonstrations, confrontations with the bureaucracy and other institutions took place. All of it a growing and maturing process, a movement.

In 1972, the American Indian Movement organized the Trail of Broken Treaties. What was to be a peaceful demonstration ended with the occupation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs headquarters in Washington, D.C.. That event clearly marked a milestone in the struggle. Thousands of Native people came together to face a common enemy.

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NEEDS FOR NOTES

Law Book: Supplement to Supreme Court Decisions
Books about Central and South American Indian Nations
Unabridged Oxford Dictionary
Flashlight batteries (all sizes).
longjohns, bluejeans.
Woolen material (for coats) tape recorders (any kind).
empty tape and cassettes (or used ones,) a camera

The staff of AKWESASNE NOTES are volunteers. Contributions to the newspaper go entirely to cover printing and postage costs. Readers' help to make the staff comfortable and efficient and capable is sincerely appreciated, since full-time staff do not have the opportunity to work privately to gain these things for themselves.

AKWESASNE NOTES PEOPLE
Yonahwaylut & Roberta, Elmer, Katsi, Bob, Cheryl, Emmy, Story, Tokeem, Mitch, Pete, Priscilla, Regina, Ernie, Elsie, Kaientares, Segwalise, Gai-ha-tah, Dan Bomberry, Claus Biegert, Stephen Gaskin, Luz, Wilkie, Iris, Jose and Sotsisowah.

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We are thankful to Dan Bomberry, Claus Biegert, Dick Bancroft, Steven Gaskin, and Gai-ha-tah for the photographs of the Geneva conference. The new logo on our cover page was designed by Claus Biegert.

Also, we forgot to thank Julie Evening Lilly, whose photographs were used for the drawings on last issue's (Vol 9, no. 4) cover.

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It is possible to arrange for speakers on Native subjects for your school or community. To make arrangements, simply write AKWESASNE NOTES or call (518) 483-2540. Honoraria vary from speaker to speaker.



AKWESASNE NOTES
WHERE THE PAST MEETS THE FUTURE

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EXPANDING THE CIRCLE:

I guess we have to say it right out: we are living in a time when millions of people are becoming increasingly aware of how terrible their lives have become.

In North America, which is by Western definition (read materially) the wealthiest society in the history of the world, we find the most complete devastation of positive human values. We find the most anxiety, the most unhappiness, the most disrespect, the most inability to grasp truth.

Life, it seems, is absolutely and irrevocably incomplete. Fathers and sons don't recognize each other — neither do women and men; or mothers and daughters; nobody even remembers what old age may be about.

It isn't even a political question (though political thought and action are of primary importance,) but rather a question of the deepest human meaning — how are we to fit in the circle of life.

In our newspaper (and in our travelling group, VOICES FROM THE EARTH,) we continually talk about the people, about the nations — about rebuilding the People, about re-strengthening the nations.

But what do all those terms mean?

We primarily report and reflect the Indian reality, this being our original obligation — but it is really about more than that. Do the Indian Peoples and the non-Indian peoples — do they really have such different tasks?

One crucial question: Who are your people?

For Indians, the definition is obvious. The People is your family, your uncles, aunts, brothers, sisters, cousins, extended relations, sharing a language, a common ground, a unified vision of existence.

Now this is not to romanticize all that. We know all too well how fragmented Indian life has become, and where it comes from — the misery of all that.

But the people still are. The nations have a core left — those who remember and know — the original, un-colonized people.

The difference, it seems to us, and the primary task of non-Indians, is to identify who their people really are.

Are your people those who do the same type of work you do? Are your people those who live in the same building you live in? Are your people those who have the same economic and educational background you have? Or maybe those who come from your same ethnic background?

Who are your people? Do you have a people?

It seems to us that your people — those you will ultimately be able to unite and share a deeper, healthier life with — those people could come from any or none of the above places. The task is simply to begin to identify them, to begin to effectively reconnect those threads that colonialism has so successfully severed.

We say very often that NOTES is a tool — at its best a way of bringing together disparate consciousnesses, seemingly unconnected concerns.

So we always ask ourselves: how can we be most effective? How can we really affect change in peoples' lives?

We want to grow. We see the need for that. But we don't care to grow simply in a way that adds thousands of new names to our list of subscribers so we can proudly display our new tally.

So we'd like to try something. We'd like to ask you, our individual readers, to select just one more person — someone that you know doesn't now receive NOTES — but that you feel shares, however incipiently, some of our mutual concerns.

Once you've selected a person — approach them, and simply introduce NOTES to them, maybe by choosing an article that you feel would be of special interest to that person.

After you have done this — ask your friend if he or she would care to receive NOTES. And if your friend has been touched at all and feels positive towards the kinds of thoughts and visions we are offering — take the responsibility to send us the name and address.

The idea is to extend the circle — from the inside out — and to create new circles — so that we may amplify not only our numbers, but also our mutual resonance.

HOW TO SUBSCRIBE TO THIS NEWSPAPER

Just write to us, and we'll add your name to the mailing list. There is no fixed subscription price — but that does not mean the paper is free. Printing alone for this issue cost over \$6,000. And rising postage costs will come to about \$4,000. And there are other expenses — typewriters, ribbons, paper supplies, etc. , and that doesn't include costs for bare subsistence for our full-time volunteer staff. We are not funded by universities, governments, or even advertising.

Our money comes from our readers, most of it in small donations such as \$1, \$5, \$10. Some people have lots of money, others have none — we ask people to do what they can. If you want the paper, we're glad to send it to you. If you want to help with the costs, we will appreciate that — your help will assist us in continuing our work.

Another issue will be ready for mailing as soon as funds for printing have accumulated.

THINKING ABOUT MOVING? JUST MOVED?

Let us know right away so we can change your address. If you are not at the address on our list, either the paper will be forwarded at a high cost to you, or it will be destroyed and NOTES will receive a notice for which we have to pay 25 cents. More than five percent of our readers move between issues, and it would mean more than \$700 cost to us, plus the loss of more than 3,000 newspapers. Please be sure to send in your old address or an old address label when you send us your new address. That way, you won't be sent two copies, and neither you nor us will need to pay any extra postage.

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telephone (518) 483-2540

KEEP US STRONG!

According to our own estimates, AKWESASNE NOTES is read with interest by over 100,000 readers each issue, and probably reaches conservatively three or four times that number. NOTES is the largest and fastest growing Native newspaper in North America, and we believe that it may be the largest authentic Native publication in the Western world. We are active, and we are growing, we think, because we are serving a unique purpose — to bring to our readers an understanding and a vision of the world which has been all but forgotten by Western Man, and thus inevitably ignored by other publications.

To that end, our writers explore many aspects of concern of our times, from issues usually associated with ecology, to issues dealing with political repression, movements, alternative technology, self-sufficiency, and social analysis. In addition to these objectives, NOTES is also one of the leaders in the publication of Native poetry and is one of the centers of Native art production and distribution. NOTES is more than a news magazine — it is an exploration of Twentieth Century society, a view of these difficult times.

People from all walks of life read and correspond with NOTES. The success of our effort depends on the responses of our readers. We constantly need news clippings of events in Indian country and around the world — the kind of news people should know about. And, of course, we always have a use for photographs, recordings of taped interviews or speeches, and articles which people feel may be of interest to an international audience. Helping NOTES to grow is a way of helping many people gain in consciousness, and reading NOTES is a way of supporting your own personal growth.

We would like to have many more readers of NOTES. You can help this paper grow by encouraging your friends and acquaintances to read some of the articles you think may interest them. NOTES is not simply a Native newspaper — it is a newspaper which has a message for all peoples who are striving in some ways for a better future.

Ours is a most difficult task, for we are trying to help people who have some kind of interest and concern for their people to understand and to unite with other peoples who have what appear on the surface to be separate and different concerns. We believe that the concerned people can come to one mind about their concerns, and we would like to be a part of the process which may help this to happen. But we are, after all, only a newspaper, a reflection — you, the reader, are a participant in the processes which make the kind of life we and our children will lead in this world. We offer our work as a tool in your work — help us grow so that NOTES will be a stronger tool. Promote NOTES — tell people about it, generate interest in the issues we cover. In that way, we will all grow stronger.



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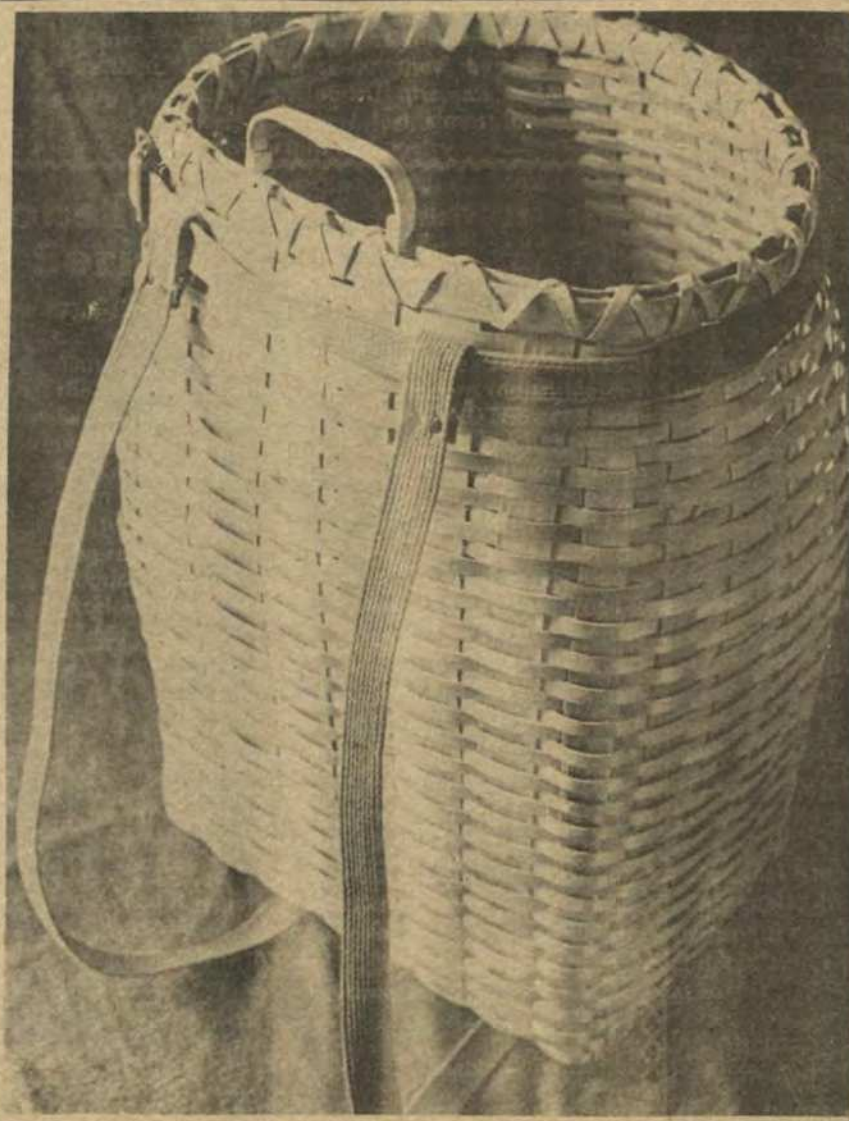
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GENEVA: A Report On The Continental

"AMERICA WILL NOT BEGIN HER WALK UNTIL THE INDIAN WALKS." Jose Marti

"WE NOT ONLY DELIVERED OUR MESSAGE OF UNITY WE NOT ONLY TOLD THEM ABOUT UNITY WE SHOWED THEM." Art Solomon

I

We were in a tall, cavernous room at the United Nations and all around the wall and the doors there were people crowded.

The Indian delegates were all in the center, seated in rows, with long, thin tables before them, and they had earphones on. To their right and to their left, sitting on both sides of the room so that they faced each other and looked over the Indian people were the representatives of the various governments.

Segwalise of the Hau de no sau nee delegation, was about to speak. He was in the front, facing us.

Next to him was Juan Condori, Aymara from Bolivia and next to him was Jose Mendoza, Guami from Panama. Both had spoken. This was the last day. It had been up to them to summarize the conditions and aspirations of their Indian peoples in South and Central America and as we had come to expect throughout that week, they had spoken out directly and eloquently.

Now it was Segwalise's turn. He did a curious thing. He didn't speak to the U.N. officials and he didn't speak directly to the Indian delegates, as everyone had done up to that point. No, he turned instead and faced the representatives of the various governments, he looked toward them, and he began to speak.

Suddenly the focus and the tension in the room changed and everyone felt that something real and immediate was about to happen. Segwalise was speaking to the enemy.

All week there had been pressure felt. At first slowly, but then fairly rapidly the word had spread that in this conference no one was holding back — that here people were speaking the truth — finally, thoroughly and

uncompromisingly — that the Indian peoples of the American continent had not died, were not about to die, that they may be new cultures within cultures and Nations within Nations and that their oppression may have been long and arduous — the cruelest, maybe, in recorded history — but that if some things had been lost, nothing had been given up, nothing — and now they had come, 130 people, representing Hopi and Lakotah, Hau de no sau nee and Guaimi, Mesquito and Mapuche, Northern Cheyenne and Ojibway, Aymara, Muskogee and Quichua, Schuar, Apache and Nahuatl, Quiche and Cree, many, many more, and they had brought a message.

II

The Immigration guards and officials at the Geneva airport were perplexed. The twenty-two delegates from the Six Nations (Iroquois) Confederacy — the Hau de no sau nee — were lined up, passports in hand, a little tired after a nine-hour, overnight flight, but now looking serious and alert as one of their passports had been handed across the glass barrier and the blonde guards with caps on were turning it over in their hands.

It was a small, brown book, covered in leather. On the cover it said: Hau de no sau nee Passport.

"I don't know," one guard said. "We have to study this."

The Hau de no sau nee delegation went to sit down. "Well, here we go," one man said. "We may as well start here."

The men and the women sat around. One man went to the bathroom and came back. He looked over the group casually. "What seems to be the trouble," he said, as if he didn't know, as if there was no reason.

People smiled.

"Hey, Tim," someone else said. "Did you call the Iroquois Consulate yet?"

Everyone laughed.

One of the older women repeated the antics of one of the young Indian men who had gotten off the plane pretending to be an anthropologist — "Gee," he had said, "This is how they live, agh? Oh, do you think we could take their picture?"

That cracked everybody up.

Then the Swiss officials were back. They still seemed perplexed but now they were offering a special entry permit. A young Swiss man was acting as interpreter.

The older Hau de no sau nee called the people together. A circle was formed. The men and the women discussed the meanings and merits of this special permit.

"It seems to me," one man said, "that this permit, by virtue of being a 'special' permit tends to negate the validity of our passport."

"That seems right," one woman said, lifting her head. "And we didn't come here to be treated differently. We came here seeking recognition."

Another man smiled, nodding. "That is correct," he said. "This is the whole reason we are here."

Then a man was designated to speak for the group and he walked over to the Swiss officials. The rest of the group crowded around.

The Hau de no sau nee position was delineated: the special permit could not be acceptable if in any way it negated the validity of the passport.

The Swiss officials looked perplexed. They would have to consult with their superiors, they said.

The young Swiss man who was interpreting looked nervous and fidgety. He kept looking at his watch. He was working with a reception committee who had arranged for a bus to transport the delegations into Geneva. The bus was waiting.

"It seems to me," he told the Hau de no sau nee spokesman, "this is not the place for a political fight."

The man looked past him silently.



Movement Of Indigenous Peoples...

Report Con't....

"I think the important thing is to get in," the young interpreter said.

"No," the man said softly. "The important thing is not to get in — the important thing is to make sure that every step of the way, our validity as Indian nations is recognized."

The young man nodded. He looked away.

Two men from the press came. They wanted to take pictures. They wanted to know what "the trouble" was.

Soon, the officials came back. Once again the people gathered. It was to be this way: an entry permit was being offered which was the one regularly issued to passports from nations that had no formal relations with Switzerland. The Hau de no sau nee had no formal relations with Geneva — but by this act, the Swiss were recognizing the Hau de no sau nee right to issue and travel with their own passport.

The Hau de no sau nee moved away from the officials and spoke among themselves. The procedure and explanation seemed reasonable. There was agreement to accept.

Soon, the Swiss officials were handing out the passports with the permits inserted. The Hau de no sau nee delegation, with the chiefs leading the way, formed a single file and passed through the gate into Switzerland.

III

There was a large circle later — and it was of all the delegations — North, Central and South America — and one of the Lakotah, Russell Means, was standing and speaking and he was slamming down forceful words, angry words.

We had been discussing the agenda for the first day — how it was to go, how much time there was, who was to speak. There was in the room and among all of us the awareness of how much there needed to be said and explained and how important it was.

Ours was a talking mission, a very complex one, and there wasn't much time. The first morning session,

where a large audience and much press participation was expected would be a crucial one. We had just become aware that the NGOs (the Non-governmental Organizations, the conference sponsors,) had already scheduled several non-Indian speakers.

"I am sick and tired of this," Russell was saying, his arm extended, gesturing to the circle. "This is *our* conference. We came here, for the first time, to present our case to the world and now we are told that we have to sit and give half our time to some damn white speakers to tell us how nice it is to have us here."

Around the room there was much nodding and silent faces. Others spoke out, mostly young men.

Juan Condori, Aymara from Bolivia, stood up. He too was adamant. "We have heard their speeches," he said. "All their polite words, all their empty words. No. I am here for my people. I am here to speak out, to tell what we are enduring. I don't have time to give."

A couple of people who had been working with the NGO committee then tried to explain the situation. It was customary, they said, that the hosts and the other observer groups represented would give welcoming addresses. There were about four such groups.

The young men, one by one, spoke again. They remained adamant. One spoke and then another and as they went along, listening to each other, you could sense the rising circle of uncompromising anger taking hold. NO, they were saying — all this is from the enemy. We are here to speak and at least let us do that well and in that let us not give an inch.

One of the Iroquois chiefs stood up, a quiet man, soft-spoken. "Let us not forget," he said, "that we are here as guests. In our own land we would not treat people this way. If it is the custom for these people to also speak, let us allow them their words. It doesn't seem proper that we should travel half-way around the world seeking sympathy for our cause and then begin by insulting those very people who wish to hear us."

He sat down. Again it was quiet. Many were nodding. One of the younger men stood. "If they want to hear us,

let them hear us then," he said. "But don't let them start by stealing half our time."

People laughed. Other young men stood up. Once again, the anger. The young men seemed to feed off each other's anger and thus grow strong. The NGO representatives, in pretending to moderate, began to catch the hostility. It didn't seem right and somehow it also seemed necessary — strong arguments on both sides and you could sense the separation beginning in that room, the way that in an argument people lock into position and speak as if in different languages, and begin to forget.



Kakwirakiron stood up. He is a tall, thin man with long braids. He was there as a spokesman and representative of Ganienkeh, a Mohawk settlement in the Adirondack Mountains. There was in the room by now some apprehension and that sort of expectation within an argument by which a new speaker is watched carefully to see which side he will support.

Kakwirakiron spoke casually. He said that he, too, was a young man and thus a warrior and then he told a little bit about Ganienkeh and the kind of pressures that community had endured in the last four years of its existence and about the feelings one got from living, continually, in a defensive stance, not knowing on many evenings whether the morning would bring an assault by the state troopers or a few shots from some rednecks. Then he spoke about the importance of those strong feelings. "These young men," he said. "I understand them because they have been the ones in the past few years who have had the task of facing the enemy. This has been their job, and as such it is their duty to be angry, to be suspicious. Were they not this way, they

OREN LYONS: IROQUOIS

To the people of Geneva, the people, the Odishonee, the Six Nations, the Chiefs, the Clan Mothers, the warriors, the men, the women, the children, send our greetings, and our good wishes of health and friendship to all of you. Of the Red brothers of the western hemisphere, of the two great turtle islands, a certain few of us have been given a short time and a great task to convince you that we too are human. And have rights. Our nations who have principles of justice and equality, who have religious and respect for the natural world, on behalf of our mother the Earth and all the great elements we come here and we say they too have rights. The future of whom we must all be concerned. The future generations, our children, our grandchildren, and their grandchildren is our concern. That they may have clean water to drink, that they may observe our four-footed brothers before they are extinct, that they may enjoy the elements that we are so fortunate to have and that serves us as human beings. The President of the United States of America has brought forth into the forum, of the international world the issue of human rights. It affords us the opportunity at this time to present our position on the issue of human rights. It is strange indeed that we have to travel this far to the east, to the European continent to turn and speak to the President of the United States and ask him about our human rights. We are concerned. It is the future of not only our people, the Red people of the Western Hemisphere, but it is the future of yourselves that is

"Economics and technology may assist you, but they will also destroy you... Profit and loss will mean nothing to your future generations."

at stake. We have been given principles by which to live, mutual respect, the understanding of the creation.

Power is not manifested in the human being. True power is in the Creator. If we continue to ignore the message by which we exist and we continue to destroy the source of our lives then our children will suffer. Whose responsibility then, who are we speaking to and who is listening? We would be remiss in our duty if we did not bring this in front of you. We apologize if it hurts. But the truth must be spoken. We were told in the beginning that we were not human. There are great arguments in the histories of many countries as to the humanness of the Red people of the western hemisphere. I must warn you that the Creator made us all equal with one another. And not only human beings, but all life is equal. The equality of our life is what you must understand and the principles by which you must continue on behalf of the future of this world. Economics and technology may assist you, but they will also destroy you if you do not use the principles of equality. Profit and loss will mean nothing to your future generations. We are here for a very short time and we have been given a very short time upon that clock of the wall to convince you, to make you listen, to understand, that we are concerned for you as well as for us. Our grandfather from the Hopi Nation this morning spoke a prayer on behalf of all the world, of your future and of ours. And it is with this spirit that we come here and we hope that the

people and the nations from which we come and to which we will have to return and which we will have to face, whatever they may have in store for our speaking the truth on behalf of people, of the world, of the four-footed, of the winged, of the fish that swim. Someone must speak for them. I do not see a delegation for the four-footed. I see no seat for the eagles. We forget and we consider ourselves superior, but we are after all a mere part of the Creation. And we must continue to understand where we are. And we stand between the mountain and the ant, somewhere and only there, as part and parcel of the Creation. It is our responsibility, since we have been given the minds to take care of these things. The elements and the animals, and the birds, they live in a state of grace. They are absolute, they can do no wrong. It is only we, the two-leggeds, that can do this. And when we do this to our brothers, our own brothers, then we do the worst in the eyes of the Creator. There should be brotherhood, and the Haudenosaunee, Six Nations, the Iroquois, who were here fifty-three years ago to say the very same thing, the unity of spirit, of brotherhood, United Nations is nothing new to us. Our Confederacy is a thousand years old. The representation of the people is nothing new to us because that is who we represent. And so for this short time I would ask that you open your ears, that you open your hearts, that you open your minds and that you consider very seriously the future of the generations, of our children to come.

JUAN CONDORI: AYMARA

Distinguished representatives of human rights and other representatives of the Americas and Indians. From a place which was once discovered and conquered by a handful of criminals, thieves, and violent people, please excuse me but I cannot find the words to describe them. On the basis of a certain racial theory they delineated human rights. Whatever one can say about the progress of their laws, law has not been felt as one nor has it been practiced with a sense of human solidarity, taking into account the various institutions. Because the Indians in fact have never taken part in this culture, in this law. In America we see what has been the fact of exploitation by the conquerors and we see that the riches they have obtained have been stolen from our people. We think that all this gold was of early use to the colonial power. At present the exploitation of our riches is decadent — because we have exhausted the potentials of our nations and this is why the Indians of Latin America have to suffer the latifundia and in a big part of the world without any contact with the outside world, until we obtain our liberation. Our purpose is to ensure that your ears will be able to hear us, and

...Hopi and Lakotah, Haudenosaunee...

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would be negligent, they would not be fulfilling their obligations to the people.

"But where I come from," he said, "within the people that I come to represent, there are also old men and old women, grandparents. There are families, mothers, and there are also little ones. And they have also viewpoints, feelings, which must be heard, and which we must represent here. That's what we are here for. We represent the whole people — not only the warriors, not only the angry feelings. This we must keep in our minds."

Kakwirakiron sat down and around the room the people were quiet. It took a few minutes but then it seemed the anger had been focused, like the force of argument had been appropriately placed in that room. Somehow the question of time for speakers that first day got resolved. It seemed much simpler then.

IV

Phillip Deer sat in a straight-backed chair, with a red blanket folded on his lap. Now it was late at night and we were in the basement of a building in Geneva and before him, sitting in a circle, were the group of six men who had been selected by all the delegates to be the principal speakers, to make the initial, unifying presentation, on that first day of the conference.

There were Oren Lyons, from the Iroquois Confederacy; Juan Condori, Aymara from Bolivia; Jose Mendoza, Guaimi from Panama; Russell Means, Lakotah from the United States, and Larry Red Shirt and Francis He Crow, both also Lakotahs and holy men, who were to open up the first day's proceedings with a Pipe ceremony.

Phillip had his hand up, and with his forefinger, was pointing at each of the men, and he had a light smile on his face, a sort of proud and knowing smile, a confident smile.

It had been a small but important meeting. We had come together in that room to discuss the various speeches that these men would deliver on the next day and thus to eliminate any possible repetition and yet something much stronger, something much more telling of what had been carried to Geneva had emerged.

Oren Lyons spoke first. He explained how he would address the duty of all human beings to respect not only "human rights," but the rights of all the beings of the Creation. This he went over very carefully and seriously, how this was the foundation for any life that would be full and decent and pretend to guarantee the rights of future generations. Then Jose Mendoza spoke — and he spoke of territory, land, of the elements of the land and how a people grew and developed according to that land and that sky and what it offered and what it taught. And he spoke of his people, the Guaimi, and of the other Indian nations, which in Panama, like in so many other

countries, constituted a so-called minority within the larger state — "but we are not a minority," he said. "Within our territories we are simply us — the people — and it is only when we go outside of this — of our land — that we become 'minorities,' and then an even worse oppression begins. We become as the peasants, losing all identity — family, language, representation — to be absorbed and thus hidden, manipulated, exploited — and then Juan Condori spoke, and he knew a thing or two about exploitation. Juan Condori is an Aymara from Bolivia, where the Indian people are a majority — about four million in a country of five million — and he spoke



that you will be able to destroy an enemy which is, of course, racial discrimination so that our countries can be freed. Free from the sword and the cross. We hope that it will be possible to wage this struggle. Too, we wish to prevent a fight between races. Or do you wish... are we to wait another fifty years before we discuss these issues again.

Do you believe the passing of time will resolve our problems once we have all been exterminated? No, thank you. In the world there is nothing existing in love and hatred without cause. As to the morality of humanity we know that humanity has been divided between the oppressed and the oppressor, the rich and the poor. It would seem that the dominant classes are in favor of the love of humanity and we know that this is a theory. But no one practices it because it is impossible to do so within a society that carries racial discrimination, genocide. And true love and law can only prevail once we have done away with cultural oppression, economic oppression, and social repression. With the Spanish conquest the people of Peru, Colombia, Ecuador, Bolivia, Venezuela, Paraguay, Chile, Argentina, Brazil, Surinam and other countries—there was resistance against the oppression installed by the conquerors. They were put into slavery, the people took their land and their property imposing the churches, service and enforced labor through violence. At present we are second class citizens without any rights at all, if this is the right word. Thus, our languages have no rights. We cannot have our own languages. Quechua and Aymara, though more than 80% of the population speaks these languages. Is there any greater outrage. We wish to unite our people with our brothers from Paraguay, from Colombia, Venezuela,

Chile, Argentina where there exists ethnic or Indian groups who reclaim the right to auto-determination, the administration, and the financial management with our own hands. Neither do we want that when independence is given to the countries, as in the case of Surinam. That completes its first stage of liberation, that the country is given over on a platter of gold to a dominating minority to exploit the Indian who to this date still does not have the legal right to his land. Those wise men of the world have not shown how to interpret the sentiment of the Indian. They say that in this world there exists programs, institutions, but all of them have studies us already. The sociologists, the anthropologists, UNESCO, ILO, today the Human Rights Commission, all of them have studied us, even as to how to go to the bathroom. But never have they presented to us our forms of how to live in the future. Neither have they studied us in our present conditions. When will they have to give us our rights?

JOSÉ MENDOZA: GUAIMI

Representatives of the United Nations, N.G.O.'s, Indian brothers and sisters, delegates, representatives of the Swiss government, I am sorry that I do not have the time to give you a concrete example and precise report. We the Indian people, when we gather together, we do not have minutes. We have a whole lifetime to talk, because it is a problem of our people. Lamentably here we must do it in order to follow the formality. The presence of Central

America, which counts upon more than 15 million indigenous people, distributed in Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Costa Rica and Panama, we present ourselves here to testify to our Indian unity in America. We present ourselves here before the well-studied and the experts on indigenous affairs that we are not objects of study, but we are beings of flesh and blood, with feelings and consciences of organization and of fight. We have come too, not to say pretty words to you lamentably. Our presence is a denouncement against the exploitation and the aggression in which our peoples live, in all of Latin America, in America of the North, of South Central America, so that you would have a general idea it would be necessary to summarize what has already been summarized previously, in order to see what is the problem of the indigenous person. Our problem is the land, the land where we were born, where we must die, the land where we have the tombs of our parents, it results now that it is not ours. We must ask who does this land belong to. Does it belong to the dominant minority? Must we ask for it from the one who has the arms in his hands? The land, who does it belong to? It belongs to the one who needs it. Does it belong to the one who works it? Or does it belong to the one who exploits the world daily? The indigenous culture in Latin America demands equality. We have a culture. It is our way of living, of organizing ourselves, that has not been taken into consideration. And now they talk about civilizing us, of organizing us...or is it that the privilege of civilizing and organizing belong to one group? We have come here to ask you, and that we are asking, is that at least let us live. We are fighting for our very lives, for our own existence. That our natural resources should be ours, because as already been said here, this was given to

“The Land,
Who Does It
Belong To?
Does
It Belong
To The One
Who Works It?
Or Does It
Belong To
The One
Who
Exploits
The World
Daily?”

—Mendoza

and Guaimi, Mesquito and Mapuche, and...

Report Con't....

About what it means to be an Indian and a peasant, because in his country, the two words mean the same, because everyone has been displaced and the Indians own no land and are considered inferior, less-than-human by the controlling white minority.

And he spoke about humiliation and poverty, and hunger — real hunger, where children don't eat and grow malformed and their minds don't work well and where the parents work and work to produce so little, and even that is taken away, and all this, he said, all this is about to get even worse. A new migration, this time of racist

white Rhodesians on the run from that part of the world and invited by the Bolivian government to settle a whole new region — more white settlers — 60,000 men of arm-bearing age — ideologically trained in apartheid, tied into the development of the oppressive mining and the vast economic interests which control the country and everything going out, all the labor, all the minerals, and the land destroyed.

Russell Means spoke then. He had wanted to be last, he said, because he had a very special mission, and that was to nail the head of the monster. And the monster, the

base and control of this overwhelming exploitation — the force, economic and military, behind this process — this was the United States of America. It was there that the multi-nationals were based. It was there the counter-insurgency programs were generated. It was there where the sterilization programs were mapped out, it was there where the governments of Chile, Brazil, Guatemala, Bolivia, Panama, Venezuela, Nicaragua, Argentina, Mexico got their military aid. And it was there where a society had been created that lived so richly, so grandiosely on the destruction of other peoples' lands, the exploitation of their labor, the extraction and theft of their natural resources and finally — and most fundamentally, the very rape and destruction of the Natural World — the basis of all life — the foundation, specifically, of everything the Indian represented — the Sacred Mother Earth.

He wanted to make this clear, Russell said, to bring the total message back around to this, because the people had no time left, and the Bolivians had no time left, nor the Guaimi and in that room it became very clear as each of the men had spoken that there had emerged no repetition but instead a sort of fusion of the various arguments and they seemed to fold together like the cloth that wraps the Sacred Pipe. Then Larry Red Shirt spoke.

He explained the meaning of the Sacred Pipe. This was his mission, to open the ceremony, to carry and offer the Pipe. He was moved, he said, by all the words he had heard, by the strength that they represented together, how it all fit, and he knew that it was good. Then he spoke of the Pipe, of the origins of the Lakotah, of the power the Pipe had and of the many manifestations he had witnessed of that power — how it had been used at Wounded Knee, and at the many trials, how he had seen, over and over, the minds of men changed by the power of that prayer and what the smoke represented.

So Phillip Deer had his hand up and his fore-finger was extended and he was pointing at each of the men and he was smiling.

“All of you men that are going to be speaking tomorrow,” he said. “You remind me of something that we do at home. And I'd like to tell you about it.”



us. Racial discrimination is a daily thing in the Americas as the studied ones should know. Human rights, these human rights belong to a minority. Those human rights are what exploit us. They have had no meaning for us. This we understand, as also we understand the way you see this because perhaps you are not representing the exploited majority. Before the United Nations there is no indigenous representative, so how are you going to understand this situation? So it should prick our conscience. So for that principle of auto-determination of the peoples that you propagate around the world you should give to us the right to organize ourselves, to live, to exploit what we have. Sirs, it would be better since I have the clock against me, I do not want to take more time. Only this I would like to remind the world once more that we have come here so that the world will not say again that it does not know the indigenous problem, so that world will not look at us any more as an object of archeology, but that it should see us as a people with rights, as one more people before the United Nations, for that reason we are here. We are here also not so that this may be one more discussion with the formalities of the United Nations, rather that there be at least a moral commitment of support for our people. Our people have not asked us that we make you feel that as you respect your brother, one can follow that respect. It is the measure by which one exploits; one cannot give the name of that people. Latin America has many representatives here and we ask them: "Ask yourselves in your conscience, who do you represent?" Finally, brothers who are present here, the political frontier by which we have been divided should not be one more time a means of repression so that the American Indian should continue fighting. That the governments should

respond to our interests and not to the interests of the minority. Of us they speak as a minority, but that is a false concept, because one has a right, the quantity of people is not important, but only for the fact of existence. And if it were not the concept of the minority the world would be in our hands, because the exploited ones, we are the majority. For that reason it is a farce. It remains in your hands then, this grave responsibility to decide if you are going to give to us this opportunity to participate as a people, for the commission of peace, for the human rights, for the auto-determination of the peoples or you will decide to collaborate in the acceleration of our death. We will say to you in the meantime, if we have suffered four hundred, five hundred years—one year more is nothing for us. Thank you.

RUSS MEANS: LAKOTAH

We come here as one people to once again tell you that for centuries since the invader came to our shores that we have shown the world mutual respect. And we are again here today as a people, as one people, to show that mutual respect. However, I talk for a people who live in the belly of the monster. The monster being the United States of America and every country in the Western Hemisphere and in the Western world follows the lead of that monster. I come not to turn the other cheek because my people are tired of turning the other cheek. We have turned it now for almost five hundred years, and we realize that here in Geneva this is our first small step into the



Northern Cheyenne and Ojibway, Cree...

Report Con't....

They had a ceremony at home, Phillip said, a fire-starting ceremony, in which several men got around a circle and there would be gathered also some straw or hay or wood chips something to ignite and then each of the men would begin. And all together they would strike flint hitting, hitting, trying to make jump that spark.

"You men that will be speaking," Phillip said. "You remind me of those young men striking stone. Your mission is to make that spark jump your mission is to light the fire, to ignite the hearts of all those people, of the representatives of the various countries, of the NGOs, of the mass-media. You must make that spark fly.

"But it is not going to be all of you that starts the fire."

"At home, all of the young men strike the stone, over and over. Strike, strike, strike — but only one makes the spark jump. And one spark ignites the fire. So it will be tomorrow. All of you will strike. All of you will speak. And one — one of you will ignite the fire. I know it."

Everyone nodded silently. Then Russell Means reached into his pocket and pulled out a butane lighter. "Here. Let's try this one too," he said.

Phillip laughed. Juan Condori laughed too, nodding, looking pleased. He turned to the interpreter. "And how is it that the Lakotah say to agree?" he asked in Spanish. Then he remembered.

"Ho!" he said loudly. "Ho!"

V

Grandfather David Monongwe offered a prayer and everyone surrounded him. He was wrapped in a blanket and he spoke in a murmur, a short, wiry man with a face full of years and everyone's thoughts came together on the hope that what would be said that morning be heard. The old man looked to the earth and he looked to the sky and he offered his prayer to the four directions and he spoke as only a Hopi could speak and then the drum sounded.

We were ready to march. People lined up and the elders took their places, the chiefs, then everyone else — the young men with the drum and their voices raised high.

There were photographers all around now (they had been restricted during the prayer) and they followed to the side and behind and some ran backwards in front, stumbling over each other. The delegations marched. The warriors carried the drum. The women held their shawls. Some of the young people half-danced/half-walked and you could see many legs and feet on the hard pavement.

"Heya...heya...heya...yeya..."

I remember running in front to take a few pictures, running backwards too and crouching down to shoot

and how strong and beautiful the people looked and how they kept on coming.

I ran way up ahead, trying to get a shot that would encompass them all and through the lens of the camera there was the center leading, which was the men with the Pipe — the men carrying their Pipes very high and their serious/proud faces and behind them the people spreading out, coming on, and all around them and rising behind there was the early morning traffic and the city of Geneva and all those faces looking on.

Then I circled way around the back and by now the people were on the grounds of the Palais Des Nations and looking up over the backs of their heads at the windows of the United Nations buildings you could see many faces and heads sticking out and out the doors



international community. And we talk about human rights. The President of the United States, to show you what a racist he is, can talk about human rights when my people are suffering genocide not only in the United States but in the entire hemisphere. Planned genocide by the governments of the Western Hemisphere. We have brought documentation to Geneva that substantiates this charge. Twenty-five years ago in the U.N. there was a conference on Human Rights and 25 years later, today, nothing has changed. The world community is talking about Latin America, Southern Africa, the Mediterranean, the same issues. There is one difference. Twenty-five years ago, what they called at that time tribal people, what they are calling us, tribes from Africa approached the U.N. for a hearing. Twenty-five years ago. The only thing that has changed is that now there are other tribes, this time they are from the Western Hemisphere. And we are approaching the international community this first time and every time after this for support and assistance not only to stop the rape of our sacred Mother Earth, but also to stop the genocide of a whole people. A people with international rights backed up specifically in North America by treaties. The treaties made between Canada and the United States with the Indian Nations of those so called countries. Now, United States is a monster and its multi-national corporations have manifested into dictating foreign policy in this world. They no longer care about the future, as witnessed by the Dene, as witnessed by my people, as witnessed by South and Central Americans. We all know if we have common sense and can read that the multi-national corporations of Western Europe are investing heavily and are increasing their investments

ten-fold in the last four years, thirty-fold in the Western Hemisphere. We also have documentation about the secret activities between the C.I.A. and the multi-national corporations that are now in Brazil, Ecuador, Peru, Colombia, and Venezuela. The activities to exploit that because everyone knows that the next major exploitation will be in South America. Now you have heard some of our spirituality, our mutual respect for all of life because it is our relatives.

“Because Everyone Knows The Next Major Exploitation Will Be In South America.”

Well, let me put it to you in the white man's terms. Instead of asking you to respect life we are going to ask you to respect capital. Look upon the natural resources of this world as capital. No longer look upon them as income that has to be flushed out immediately because if you continue to look at our relatives and our sacred Mother as income you will waste all the non-renewable resources in this country, in this world. But you look on them as capital then you might find some respect. Because you see capital, you do not want to lose your capital, because once the capital is gone, of course, the income is gone. Our oil, our petroleum,

our uranium, our coal, our timber, all of these natural resources are capital. And if you look on them as capital, then maybe you will think of the future. Because you see that capital is about to be wasted by the multi-national corporations and the monster and its tail. Now we know that the United States of America and every country in the Western Hemisphere cannot afford to address itself to the original people because to do so they would then have to admit they have no respect. Now also, there is another reason I am here to talk about. It's liberation, liberation of our people as separate entities, separate nations, our right as the Red people of the Western Hemisphere to join in the family of nations. There is only one color of mankind that is not

allowed to participate in the international community. And that color is the red. The black, the white, the brown, the yellow all participate in one form or another. We no longer until this day have had a voice within the international community. As someone once said, 'you can tell the power of a country by the oppression its people will tolerate.' Well, no longer are we going to tolerate the monster. I wonder if we are wise enough to understand that we need the cooperation of the international community. And believe me, I hope, I foresee, that maybe with the cooperation of the international community, just maybe, 25 years from now, the Red people will be helping other indigenous peoples gain their liberation. Thank you.



...Aymara, Muskogee and Quichua, Schuar

Report Con't....

were coming small crowds and it was obvious that the work of the whole place had been halted.

People smiled at us and a few waved.

At the entrance to the building the drum was silenced. Grandfather David offered a second prayer.

Then another song.

And from the windows and the doors of the U.N. buildings all those people began to clap and cheer.

Then we went inside.

VI

North and South the American continent. The affluence of the North; the poverty of the South. The "under-development" of the South; the "over-development" of the North. And what does it all represent to Indian people?

Another question: What does colonialism mean?

Colonialism is the process by which we are systematically confused.

Colonialism — from the word colony; to be controlled from afar.

Confusion — an agent of control.

The confusion takes many shapes and forms (gimmicks) that overlap creating layers, many, many layers.

Western Civilization the history of mankind since the beginning of its contradictory relationship with nature. The most basic contradiction. The history, also, thousands of years old, of the refinement of colonialist techniques. So successful that it no longer needs to regenerate the techniques, but rather, it perpetuates them.

Natural World Peoples Nations of human-beings which developed governments, religions, cultures and economies that fit their activities to the cycles of nature. Non-colonialist by definition.

Indigenous American Peoples — Nations of human beings living on the American Continent at the time of first contact with Western Civilization, the vast majority of which were Natural World Peoples.

North and South — many Nations: After 500 years of contact, many different stages of colonialism — many possibilities for confusion.

North and South — our movement: the struggle to de-colonize, to break free, to stand back and view the source of the confusion, in order to develop or resume ways of living that prove to be non-destructive, healthy for the people and at one with the creative power of nature.

VII

A press conference. Many pretty words of welcome, an equal number of inane questions.

Will they ever understand that this is not a game?

Everything was funny to them. They wanted to see the Hau de no sau nee passport — take snappy front-page pictures of it. They wanted to pose the people — get this angle, that angle.

This whole process of media — the distillation of information — is evidence of the insanity. Reporters who learn thousands of facts, write thousands of words, and learn nothing.



Phillip DEERE: MUSKOGEE- CREEK

Brothers and Sisters, we as Native people come before you. Now you see the living evidence of the original people of the Western Hemisphere. We are the Original People of the Western Hemisphere, people that have been on that part of the world for thousands and thousands of years. No man has ever set the time and ever set the date of how we originated in this part of the world. Our history dates back according to our traditions to the beginning of times.

At the beginnings of times, at the time of Creation, also our people came about. We had no teachers, we had no instructors, we had no schools. We had to turn and look at the Creation. We had to study Nature. And we had to copy off of Nature. Our entire civilization was built upon the study of Nature. They became our instructors in the beginning of times. Our religion was found at this time. Our way of life we founded through that type of study.

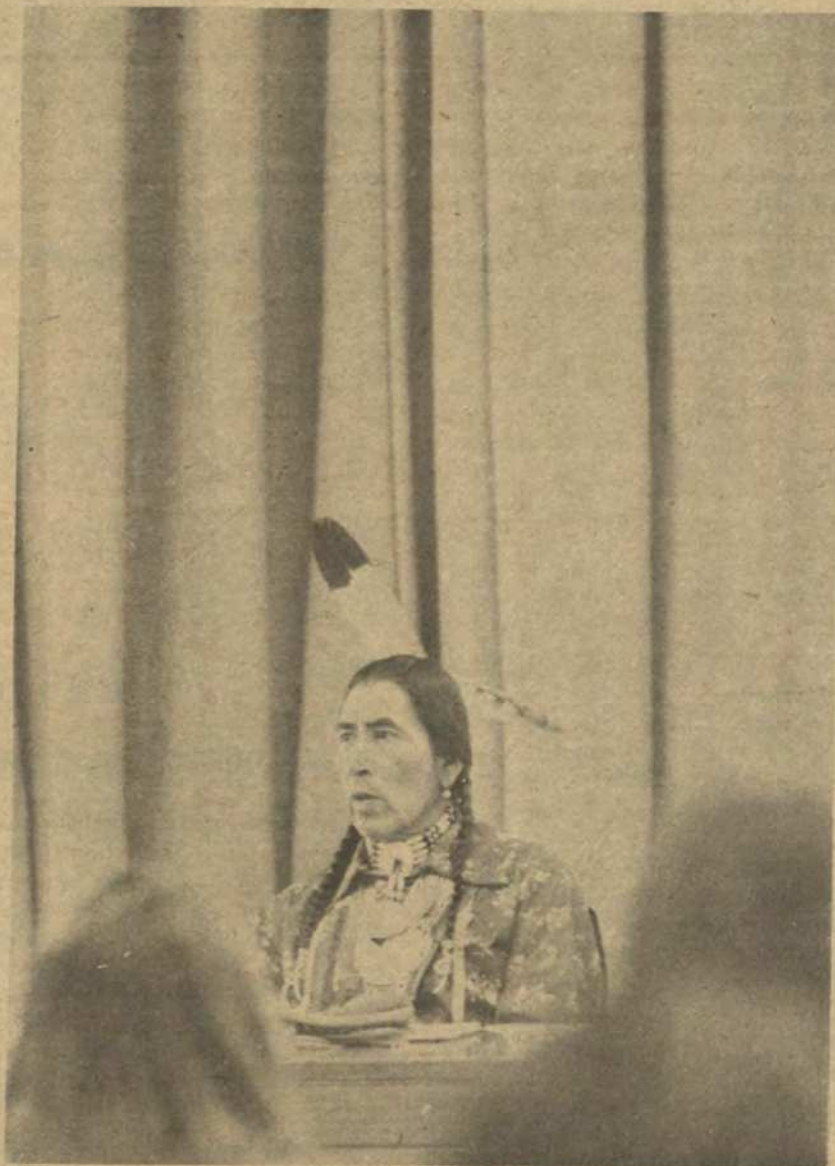
So we organized our governments under the study of nature. We lived under an unchanging government, a traditional government of our ancestors. That law that we lived by never changed until recent years. In 1492 that law of our ancestors began to change.

A government that is thousands of years old is what we lived by. That law was workable for us. We lived by understood laws. Today all over our country historians, anthropology people, have dug up the earth to find the history of the Western Hemisphere. But they have not found any jail house. They have not found any prisons. They have not found insane asylums. How did different nations of people speaking so many different languages live without these institutions? Time came when that law with that government was interrupted with. Prior to 1492 we lived a life. That life was valuable for us.

That religion was understood by all Native people of the Western Hemisphere. Time came when we were told that that religion is not the right one, therefore it has never been recognized until this day by the world. We were forced to accept the recognized religion. Many of our people were Christianized and left the ancient religion of their ancestors.

We still yet look at Nature and watch how they grow little ones. We find the ducks, we find the geese still yet living with that thousand-year-old government. The animals, they still continue to follow that government that was given to them in the beginning of time. Original Instructions of life was given at the beginnings of time to all living things.

The entire Creation still follows those Instructions of Life. The tree, the fruits, they never fail. They never make a



Apache and Nahuatl, Quiche, Ye'cua na...

Report Con't....

The question is not: Why do they do it? We know why they do it — for a salary, for professional recognition.

The question is: Why do they do it to themselves? Why do they care to lead such stupid, confused lives?

Today they cover the Indians: tomorrow the sewage system; the next day the high cost of food. Doesn't anything ever connect for them?

Several spokesmen tried to explain it. The meaning of sovereignty. The respect for Mother Earth. The search for integrity, the circle of life. Oppression, conquest, colonialism, exploitation. Genocide.

The reporters wanted to see the medallion around Phillip Deer's neck. "Oh, very nice," they said.

The next day we read the headlines: "INDIANS DO SCALP DANCE AT THE U.N.," and "INDIANS COME TO UNEARTH WAR-HATCHET!"

VIII

Late at night in Geneva. Narrow European streets. Cobblestone. Eight, nine Indians walking in the dark, hands in pockets, hunched over shoulders, trying to guard off the chill.

It is a drizzly night, full of shadows. Small cars race by,

like miniature toys.

The men walk against the wind.

One throws his head back, sideways. *In my land I would be warm*, he says, the words carried by the wind, *would be warm*.

Anh-ha!

Don't talk!

Oh Yes!

And myself, says another voice: *I would have my woman rub my neck*.

Under the blanket!

And they laugh. There's strong wind now. Cold, cold.

On the way and there is a bar/restaurant. There is a glimpse through a window — vapor on the glass — and warm, light faces inside, some noise, a crowd, beer.

They must go around the parked cars, spreading out once more. Walking against the wind, on the cobblestone street in Geneva — very far from home.

"I don't know, my brothers, sometimes it tires me — conferences, conferences — so much talk!"

"Are you asking — is it worth it?"

"I have to tell my people. They will ask me. And what will I say to them?"

"Tell them you talked for them, that you told the truth."

"That they know already."

"Oh, I see."



"Our entire civilization was built on the study of nature. They became our instructors in the beginning of time... So we organized our governments under the study of nature."

mistake to bring their fruits in their season. The animals never make a mistake. They still live as they were created. Among the Creation, what is Man's Instructions of Life? We see the Creation. We were reminded of that by our brother when we began this session.

Life, the circle, a measurement with no beginning and no ending. For that reason I can go all over the world. Wherever I meet Native people with a traditional understanding of their country they can recognize my drum. There are all kinds of musical instruments throughout the world but it is not recognized by some countries. But I can take my drum anywhere and it is recognized by the real people of that country. What does it mean? How is it recognized?

They too at one time had a drum. They too at one time, like the Native people, danced in a circle, at one time. They also believed in that hoop. They also believed in that circle at one time, but what happened down through the past history of mankind? In the Western Hemisphere when our value systems changed, another value system came and which my brother, Russell Means, has just mentioned. The value system of money has separated us from that Natural Way of Life. That value system we find to be destructive because your families aren't doing too well either because of that value system.

Families are separated today. Why is (it that) today the man with the big business, his son is not taking over and does not want to? How come our younger generation today are travelling all over the world seeking something? What are they looking for? What are they hungry for? Father tells them: Son, I have a factory, you can take that over. But son doesn't want that no more. Here son, I bought you a new car so you will be happy. But son doesn't care for that car no more.

What's the matter with our families today? How come we are so divided today? How come papa don't understand his son no more? We believe that you can buy happiness and put it in the laps of our children, but they don't want it no more. The young people of the world are hungry, looking for something.

As an older person, perhaps you are representative of your country, perhaps you are representative of some nationality, maybe you are just representing your own family. What are you providing for your family? What is the future of your generation? The value system is separating your sons and your daughters. Till now, we have no respect for no one. The Indian law of love, peace and respect, no man-made laws will ever take the place of that law. That is the law that my ancestors lived by. The value system that we mentioned

that is so destructive has destroyed many nations of people. We can see, we can identify where our problem lies today.

The practice of genocide that is over-spilling today -- we must stop and think what is happening. How come this is happening? We come to you today as I mentioned. We are the evidence of the Western Hemisphere and we came here thinking that you people can make decisions, rightful decisions. If you too are bought off, if you too follow the value system, instead of being a human being, our requests will be denied.

The human rights that I see being mentioned in this very building -- as Native people our human rights began with the beginnings of times, and these rights were given to us by the Creator, and not by man. We want to live by these human rights. I want to continue to be who I am. No matter what I am called by my own government. Many times we hear about "terminating our people," "terminate my services," call me anything you want to.

But you cannot change my color. You cannot change the color of my eyes. Neither can you change my hair. I am born a Native American Indian and I will die an Indian. We are people who have resisted the system. For 400 years we have resisted the system and we have proved our existence and (we have

come) here to let you know that we still exist as human beings.

If you once heard of Wounded Knee, in South Dakota, you heard the resistance of Indian people. There was reasons for that. You heard, too, the resistance of the people -- of our brothers in the South. You heard the voice of the Red Man. You have heard their cries, many of them have given up their lives that they may continue to exist as human beings. The next question is, what are you going to do about it? If your interests are in human rights, I ask you to listen to the evidence of the Western Hemisphere.

Our faith is strong. We are proud to stand up as Native people. We still live. We continue with our ceremonies today. I still know the language that was given to me by my Creator... And we come to you here as a people. No matter what languages we speak -- yet we find the same problems all over the Western Hemisphere. We find our brothers and our sisters dying daily, trying to live the life of their ancestors. And we find our children being brainwashed daily, trying to live another man's way of life.

We talk about colonialism. In a few minutes I will try to explain to you our experience in colonialism. There's been many definitions of it, but I can only give you one example, and hope that you can understand what I mean.

History, Culture, Land, Self-sufficiency...

Report Con't....

"What about the parasites?," they will ask. "What about our crops?."

"And what about the uncle -- the one with the bad arm -- can you fix him up?."

Laughter -- pleasant, knowing laughter.

"Brother. And will Geneva buy me a pair of shoes?"

Laughter, laughter.

"Brothers, we came together. That is something."

"And it must be said, one and another time. Say it, say it, say it -- let the words go out."

"It makes a difference. Look at brother Constantino -- it got him out of a cell."

"If enough of us say it -- often enough -- we let it loose; it will carry itself."

Long, rounded curves and rock walls defining the road. Clean streets, glistening. Geneva -- a city of precision. Clockwork, music boxes and intricate banking schemes. Money and order, where people are assumed to be honest, or scared, and nobody collects your ticket on the bus. The police are swift, and the people line up automatically.

Once, they were Lake Dwellers -- the original inhabitants -- a tribal people with relatives all along the Alpine region. Skilled agriculturists, fishermen/hunters. Highly developed weaving and ornamental arts -- peaceful, prosperous, with many village clusters around a single lake. Then the Celts invaded; then the Etruscans. And finally, the Romans. The Romans eradicated the local cultures; built roads, changed the languages,

brought diseases, conscripted the men, enslaved the people, collected tribute. Later came wars with the Franks, with the Allemany -- out of this the Swiss were formed. A strange breed. Sturdy. Gracious. Hardworking. Stingy. Cosmopolitan. European.

A car rounds a corner and surprises the walking figures. It honks. The men form a single file at the edge. The driver, a man, is signalling angrily, honks again, speeds on.

"Just like at home Ay!"

The men laugh.

"They do that brothers. In my country, they push us to the side and drive their big cars through, through, through!"

The Aymara pretends to hold a steering wheel, pushing, pushing.

Now he is angry. "They think we are beasts!"

"They do. They do."

The Indian people of Brazil could not come. There they are considered as children, minors -- who must travel with a guardian, a white Brazilian.



Colonialism — we have experienced that. We have experienced all these pressures, all these years. When the new way of life came into our country, we began to experience colonialism, and it is something like this:

Each and everyone of you in this building — me and my brother would go outside and come in and tell you: "There's trouble out there." So him and I are going to look after you — we don't want you going out there. We want you to remain in here. So we would take turns coming back, watching you. While he is out I'd be sitting here watching you. In the meantime, while sitting here watching you, we would watch every weak person in this room.

So I would say: So he's out and I would like to go out for a little bit. So, who would volunteer to take my place? That weak person is going to raise his hand in this room. So, he would take my place. I give him the gun and go outside. While I am out there, the guy in my place, I'd do him little favors. I would bring him back a candy bar, or a package of cigarettes. Okay? Now I got you under control. Your own kind looking after you. So I don't have to stay in here all the time. Because your own kind would be sitting here with a gun, looking after you. That's colonialism!"

JOE LAFFERTY: FOR THE CHILDREN

I would like to speak on behalf of the young peoples of the Americas, of the Red nations, but I also have the concern of all children of this earth. I am from a survival school where I have been given the chance to learn the meaning of truth, and to learn the meaning of being a human being. And we consider ourselves in our survival school as the true freedom children of the world. We are the children of the American Indian Movement. For many years we have been forced to accept an educational system that is very inadequate to our personal needs, to our lives and to our future lives, and to the future of this world. We have been forced to ignore the natural law of humanity that was placed here by the Creator. We have been given an opportunity to learn these things, that we might practice them, that we might become as true human beings. In our survival school we have had to fight in order to keep the survival school going because of the educational system that exists there in the Americas and throughout the world comes a from a man who does not even know himself or what he is about. And we realize that he is wrong, but he doesn't want to be wrong alone so he is dragging down these other colors of man with him, because misery as we know loves company. And we have been able to listen to the teachings of our grandfathers and though they tell us these things, we are not the result of



their teachings, as they are not the result of their elders teachings. We are the result of the Creator. And through the generations the elders have only taken the responsibility of passing that truth down through the following generation. And so throughout the world, every two-legged person, being, is the result of the Creator's dream. And if we are allowed, or if we wish to live as human beings, we must understand what that dream is and what it is about. We must listen to the nature of this earth. We must hear the things that it has to say, because those are the two things that we cannot live without, all that is here on this earth. The Father, which is the Creator, and the Mother,

which is the one that bears the children, and as you come from inside of your mother, so do we come from the inside of this earth, our mother, too. And as you would love your mother, as you would want to protect her and to show your appreciation for her, for her allowing you to nurse at her breast, and she watches over you until you have the strength to go out and fend for yourself. This is the way we look at this earth. This is the feeling we have for this earth. We love this earth, as we love our physical mother. Because it is true that she does provide the nourishment and the shelter for her children. And if we destroy the earth or show disrespect for her, we are showing disrespect for our

Language, Sovereignty, Vision, Discipline

Report Con't....

"Do you need a guardian, my brother?"

The men laugh, sadly.

"You know. In my country they call us pigs. It is the same as saying Indian!"

"If our brothers from Brazil, if they could come. How much they could say!"

"The same as you and me!"

The nine figures are walking in a huddle, in the shadows. One man sings a song — a lilting, lifting song.

Two men walk comfortably with their arms around each others' shoulders, young men.

"Brothers, brothers, I love you all — but I don't want to see you again."

"What's that you say?"

"We grow strong together. There is no doubt. We share it. Send someone else next time."

"Yes. That is the thing."

"Sing another song then. Sing, will you. Sing."

IX

Testimony was being taken and the Bolivians were in a cluster when they saw him.

"There he is. That's him!"

"Duck your head down!"

Across the room, over the heads of the other delegates, was a young photographer. He was focusing his camera on them, trying to get frontal face shots.

"Look down at your notes."

The photographer lowered his camera. He signalled across the room to another man, who also held a camera. The second man went outside and the first one lit a cigarette. Then he too went outside.

The Bolivian Military attache had come that day. He was flanked by a staff of four — two men and two women — all well-dressed. They took careful notes.

One by one the governments had heard. Something was being said here that no North, Central or South American government/state could live with comfortably.

The Indian people were claiming their land.

The Indian people were claiming their right to exist as Indian people, wherever they might be.

The Indian people were claiming the right to continue to live a way of life that had proven itself healthy and adequate for human beings.

This was the message of this U.N. conference. And if it was a message that couldn't be delivered in its totality, it was because it is not a message of words only. It is about a real world, and about a real people — and in Geneva, after 500 years of contact, it was a message about how these people, by no means perfect, but with a sane, healthy vision of existence, guided by concepts of unity and reciprocity, the positive values of non-accumulation of wealth and most fundamentally, an all-encompassing comprehension of how the life-force manifests itself in all the beings of the Creation — how these peoples, sometimes gradually but oftentimes suddenly, found and find themselves barraged by missionaries, soldiers-of-fortune, educators, economic developers, armies and all manner of confusing gimmicks — and one by one they are extinguished, they disappear — they fight; they kill themselves; they get contaminated; they are assimilated, they survive; they unite.



Lafferty con't.....

mother. And in our survival schools we have learned the meaning of sovereignty. We have learned to distinguish the four colors of man. And we do not look at it with prejudice as some people would do. Four colors of man, four religions, four parts of this earth. And we have been taught respect.

You respect yourself by staying within the boundaries and following the instructions that your Creator gave you. And the instructions that He gave these other colors of man, you respect that too, that is his, that belongs to him, you have to go by that. And you cannot go into his culture and take from him. Or you cannot go into his culture and force yours on him, because it is not the way of the Creator. It is not the wish of the Creator. We must respect ourselves by living in this way, by respecting one another, by leaving to each his own, allowing each color to live as they were taught to live in the beginning of creation. And when we talk of sovereignty these four colors of men were true sovereign people when they were first created, because they did not have any government to go to ask that government if they could do something. Just like the bird today, he does not have to approach no government to ask permission to live the way they have been living for millions of years on this earth. That is sovereignty. That is living as a human being, not having to rely on someone telling you what to do, or give you the permission to do it. You need only to look to the beginning of your race and to find out exactly what the Creator told your people. And then you look at your children and you understand the love that you feel for this earth. These children feel this love for you too. You are inseparable. A child comes from the mother. Together

the mother and father create the child. And if you are really concerned about your children and their future you must take on the responsibility yourself as a parent to teach your child, to raise your child, to give him the instructions that your father, and grandfather, grandmother, gave you. You cannot go the lazy way and push your child into another man's care, another person's care, and give them the responsibility of teaching your child. Because there you lose your connection. There is still love, but it is a loose love, it can slip away very easily. But if you give the most important thing that you have to give, not the materials of this earth today, but your spiritual knowledge, your spiritual love to your child, you won't find him running wild in the street. You won't find them killing one another.

You won't find turmoil on this earth. Because that is what we were in the beginning is children. And today the child, the baby is the closest thing to innocence and purity. He still remembers, he still knows where he comes from. The Spirit world. He still has that understanding there. You think that a child when he is newborn doesn't understand nothing and yet he knows more than you do. Because you, your minds, have been cluttered by the things that are here today. He still knows how to talk to the animals. He still knows how to communicate with his Creator. And how to truly communicate with his mother because he does not need a voice to say the things. He says it with his feelings. He says it with a cry and right away the older person knows that child is in discomfort, that he has a need. And if you are truly concerned for your child you will not continue this way. You will not continue the destruction of the earth. There are people that destroy this earth and there are some people that are trying to slow them down. And even though you have



"You think that a child when he is born doesn't understand nothing and yet he knows more than you do... Because you, your minds have been cluttered..."

ecologists trying to find ways to preserve this earth no matter how much they slow down this process of civilization as they call it or progress, no matter how slow it moves it is still inevitable that man is going to destroy this earth. So it must stop completely. Unless man relearns that the things that

we have to survive by. The earth shows it so we don't have to go searching the air for it. What we need to survive by our mother provides for us, and puts it right in our hands. And if we are to be truly sovereign we must be allowed to receive our education from our elders. And if we are really to win this battle of sovereignty we must also remember the political prisoners. There are lots today. Because even if we are free to love the way we want to, we are still not free, because we still have a brother and a sister who are not free. They are in prison. And we must consider that. It is not their fault that they made this mistake, because the system where they made that mistake is foreign. It belongs to another man and if they would have been allowed to live within their world they would not have made that mistake. So it is not them, it is you, the industrial people, the people who are intent on bringing themselves above being a human being. And I would like to say in closing that I truly have a feeling that I am free because what I have inside me came from the grandfathers. And to them it came from the Creator. And even if you do decide to ignore our message that we brought to the world, even if you decide to kill us all, to eliminate us completely, I am still not worried, because there is still that mother, that father. And even when all the human beings are gone from this earth they still have that power to create another child. So, even if you win this war we are still ahead because we are going to be here forever.

Maybe we might be gone for a few minutes in time, but eventually we will be back on here and we will be here forever because our spirit is where our true sovereignty is, our true purpose in life. And we carry that with us always, and when we leave it will still be here, and when we come back it will still be here. I want to thank you.

Respect, Work, Responsibility, Harmony...

Report Con't.....

And over and over this story had told itself, was documented, was specified. And it was the same in the Bolivian highlands as it was in Pine Ridge; in the Paraguayan Chaco as in Akwesasne. And the people could see that now; there was no doubt now.

The government/states of North, Central and South America find much to fear in this new unity.

For the South and Central American governments, who make a studied habit of criticizing that "colossus of the North" — United States imperialism — and yet take its money and military aid for their own colonizing expansions — this was unacceptable.

Mexico, Nicaragua, Venezuela and Bolivia found ways to pressure the Indian delegates from within their political borders.

I remember a couple of tall, well-dressed, mustachioed Mexicans cornering young Natalio, a Nahuatl delegate. They loomed over him, with serious, threatening faces.

The Mexican government will not have it said it mistreats "our" Indians, they said.

"Furthermore," one of the men said. "There are only 8 million Indians in our country — not 12 million, as your report said."

Natalio shrugged. "You know these figures are hard to ascertain."

"Eight million!"

Natalio looked away.

"And another thing we want mentioned: The Indian fought for Mexico, in many wars."

"I know," Natalio said. "I know we did."

The Nicaraguan ambassador to Geneva tried to call one of the Mesquitos out of a meeting. The Indian wouldn't go.

This is friendly, the ambassador sent word.

They met for dinner one night. Our position is very clear, the Mesquito said. We are 100,000 people, within our territories. We are not you and you are not us.

One day the Ye' cuana from Venezuela looked troubled, withdrawn. "They are pressuring me," he said. "There are threats."

And of course, Bolivia — where the struggle is intensifying and the Indian people have vowed to dust off their old, hidden rifles because no longer can they tolerate the humiliation and the oppression — and this is it: if the Rhodesians move in, apartheid becomes official.

In the United States, the word is out that Russell Means will again be imprisoned — his parole broken too blatantly, too politically. The court won't tolerate it.

So it goes. And some others too, that one cannot mention.

And over there are the photographers again, during the Legal Commission testimony. They come in on opposite sides and set up to photograph the Aymaras and Quichuas from Bolivia.

The Aymaras look down. But then: "Brothers," one says. "If they want to take my picture, they can have it."

He looks up, straight at the photographers. Under his breath he says: "It is going to take more than cameras to shut me up."

And another one looks up — a dark face, with red, tired eyes. "They'll have to cut my heart out," he says. "Truly they will."



MARIE SANCHEZ: FOR THE WOMEN

I come with greetings from the women of the Western Hemisphere. I come here to pose questions to this conference and hopefully to receive positive actions in some of the questions that I present. The Indian women of the Western Hemisphere are the target of the genocide that is still on-going, that is still the policy of the United States of America. We are undergoing the modern form called sterilization, which has been going on for hundreds of years, to totally exterminate the Red man. Our brothers were the ones who had to undergo murders and other inhumane acts. And you heard this morning from our brothers, the warriors and protectors of our nations. The Native American woman is the carrier of our nation. Therefore, I again state, we are the target for a total, final extermination of us as people. The question I would like to put forth to this conference, to the delegates of other countries here present is that why have you not recognized us as sovereign people before? Why did we have to travel this distance to come to you? Had you not thought that the U.S. government in its deliberate and systematic attempt to suppress us, had you not thought that was the reason that they did not want to recognize us as sovereign people? The positive thing that I feel will come out of this conference if you are going to include us as part of that international family. It is for you to give us that recognition.

Only with that can we continue to live as completely sovereign people. There are other concerns of the Native American women. They do not just stop at the concern of being sterilized. They go beyond that because of our relationship to Mother Earth. The raping, plundering, because of the greed of the United States of America for our natural resources, it is still yet a form of sterilization. Because we depend on Mother Earth for life. And you also, because our part of the family in this world, we should also be very concerned, because the current enemy is your enemy too. And that enemy dictates the policy to your governments also. And I want to warn you not to be so dependent on the country and the government that we are under. We have demonstrated to you how many hundreds of years we have survived, but only because we are still united we can still be together in struggle. And we wish to continue to exist. I have a message of Panama. "The Indian women of Panama greet our inseparable companions in the struggle, in the Indian movement that are present here today to question and to achieve positive acts for our nations. Our groups are the most exploited and most segregated of all the peoples from the time of invasion and conquest of our land. We, the Indigenous women of Panama have already committed ourselves when it deals with the unity of our people because we have contributed, although in a passive form, to the progress and development in the



areas of strengthening our cultural, spiritual and traditional values, hereditary wealth of our ancestors. We are conscious of our historic position and we are sure we will not defraud our future brothers and sisters because we are here constructing little by little the basis together with you all. Let us be brave men and women so that once again for the history of the world the richness of our indigenous society shines.

Delegates, this is a very great mission and it requires the participation of all its members, because we want and desire the full vindication of all our rights because here, in one form or another, we are united by blood, by a history weighed down by the constant murders and humiliations towards us and because all the Indian nations are raising our voices before the protectors of the state, who at great height pretend to

maintain us under a situation of segregation as though they did not recognize the objectives which they want to attain, our own extermination. We would like to make it known to the public here that for the women, her defense, her rights and equality are concepts in practice and real life we do not know. The rights of better social conditions, on par with culture, with our education, because the great majority of us are domestic servants and we are not permitted to go to school even at night-time. We are cheap labor. In the houses where we serve they oblige us to renounce our traditional dress, our dances, our language, for a miserable wage. They oblige us and condition us to think and to feel as whites. They teach us and oblige us to look down on the Indian that forms part of our history, who is our brother and our father. We are objects of investigation on the part of the so-called

Cooperation ♦ ♦ ♦ ♦ ♦ Consistency

Report Con't....

Dan Bomberly, of the Hau de no sau nee Delegation, is walking around. He too carries a camera, this one with a long lens. The Aymaras call him over. They want him to shoot the photographers.

Bomberly walks away, crouches down, shoots. He shoots again and again, from the sides, from the front. And the photographers shoot back at him — at the Aymaras and Quichuas, at the other delegates.

Bomberly then shoots the Bolivian Military attache and his staff. They glare at him scoffingly.

Steven Gaskin, an independent observer from The Farm, a U.S. self-sufficient community, is also recruited. He has a small, dinky camera, but he wields it with flair, joining the skirmish, shooting, shooting.

Pretty soon the two photographers retreat. The Aymaras are laughing, laughing. But the Bolivian military man is still looking out, silently, angrily.

X

We were in a tall, cavernous room at the United Nations, and this was the last day. Segwalise of the Hau de no sau nee Delegation was about to speak.

It had been a long week — a week of sleeping three, maybe four hours a night, a week of transatlantic flights and hurried breakfasts and the ever-present need to say things right. A week of pressure and energy — the constant energy. Because something had happened in this conference, something was helping, people were locking together and one after another they had transcended themselves, as if they knew, finally, that the truth, once you know it, carries with it an awesome, a beautiful obligation — that there is no going back.

We were tired. Everyone was tired, but I don't mean tired in that way that one begins to forget things. No, rather I mean tired in that way that all your emotional

reserves, your usual, everyday customary buffers have been used up and so whatever is around you enters your being and flows through you and becomes part of what you are and Segwalise was groping for words.

"I want to say," he began slowly, and he looked toward the Bolivian military people, to the Venezuelan, the Nicaraguan, the Panamanian government representatives. This was for them. It was from us to them. "As a person who has helped work to achieve this time, this first time when our people have come here as one people of the Western Hemisphere to talk to the world and try to explain the conditions that we face, that what I have seen in the past year of work on this is that there has been an organic growth going on amongst the Native Peoples. It is the same kind of organic growth as when you put that seed into the earth and you know that the various things of the earth work together with that seed to bring about a good thing for the life of all the people.

"That cycle has been going on since the time that this place began. My deepest concern in this work has always been that unfortunately the people who occupy our part of the world with us, for whatever reasons, seem to have a vicious strain in them. They have a vindictiveness in them. It may be because their guilt is so overwhelming about how they treat us, that sometimes they have to try to murder us, or jail us, or assassinate our leaders, or carry on acts against our people.

"I hope that those of you who sit in this room with us, as representatives of the co-occupiers of our part of the world, you will be able to think a little bit about our lives, our aspirations, our wants, our desires, before you send your final reports home. Before you send your reports home that may cause a...a...death..."

And here Segwalise had to stop — and we all stopped. And he had to fight for words, because he was choked up, and in that room the tears began to flow.

"...That may cause a death among a people that I have come to know and love. Because if one of them disappears from the face of this earth because they came here to speak the truth about the conditions we live in, and the things we have to face, the people who will remember that man's death will be coming after you..."

Wild applause, everyone on their feet.

"We have a chance," Segwalise said, "in the Western Hemisphere to work together as human beings, as people. And as the Native People of this land we have come to this World Council to try to show you that even though all the things you have done to us, we still have a feeling of sympathy, we still have a feeling of kindness in our hearts towards you.

"But if you do not stop, if you continue, do not be



“...Because All The Indian Nations Are Raising Our Voices Before The Protectors Of The State....”

MARIE SANCHEZ CON'T

scientists, the anthropologists and we are against this because nobody wants to be studied. This is our reality. There has never been a pronouncement made about the exploitation of the indigenous women. We are the objects of jokes and humiliations as if being an Indian woman was a painful shame for the country. We constitute a problem in the social, economic, political, and cultural aspects due to the exploitation and alienation to which we are subjected. We are abandoned to our own fate. Our representative on behalf of the government could say it is certain that the indigenous woman of Panama does not carry a tremendous weight upon her shoulders and that the indigenous women present at this conference should say if this is not the sad truth. All these situations form part of the politics of integration into a civilized life into which they wish to induce us, and we oppose that. For that reason we wish to make a call to all the Indian brothers present here to struggle together, all united under one flag, under one religion, the religion of the Indian nation. And in that struggle we should all participate together, the men and women together in this struggle, because both strengths are necessary to guarantee the support of our own various ethnic groups. We have many problems and must fight according to

the possibilities to achieve our rights in favor of the enrichment of our culture and of our peoples because we have always been and are now women who fight with a sense of our own values. On a national level we would like to terminate the politics of paternalism, integration and discrimination which also affects us enormously and that which they try to impose upon us in our land, in our work and in whatever place, wherever we are. Indigenous brothers, we have confidence in you and we have confidence always that our voices will be heard, all united under one Indian religion only without different borders. We will fight for that one day when the richness of our culture and the greatness of our indigenous people will shine again in all its splendor. This is a challenge to all of us and we will fight to overcome.”



So you see our concerns from both the North and the South Americas are the same and that is survival. To keep our nations going and united Native American nations, of course, would like to be a part of the United Nations. Thank you.



Unity

Report Con't.....

surprised by the reaction the people reap upon you. What you create today, how you say it, how you feel it, how you manifest it as you walk upon the earth, comes back to you. It always goes in a full circle. It always comes back. And if you find it in your hearts to be human beings, to give a little bit of love, a little bit of consideration for us as human beings, then it comes back. And that's the balance of this way of life that we carry on our side of the world. And we always try, we always try to put it into your hearts and into your minds. Don't let your economic interests, don't let your

military interests, override your humanity. Because we are not going to go away, we are not going to disappear.

“We are going to be here for a very long time. And every morning when you wake up, somehow, someplace, somewhere, you are going to have to face us again. So let's try in your reports home, and in our reports to home, to look for the ways that we can get back to the good life in the Western Hemisphere.”

ISMAELILLO

EPILOGUE:

Jose Mendoza, the Guaimi delegate came back with us for a visit. This was a few days after the conference and we were sitting in one of the hill-top cabins here at NOTES. Mendoza looked up from the table and said: “I must confess I am truly confused.”

It was his first visit to North America. We had flown into Syracuse and after a day's rest at Onondaga, had travelled the fast, angry highways north to Akwesasne. “This is a strange land,” Mendoza kept saying.

Late at night he asked the crucial question: “Tell me,” he said. “In this country, just how does one know who are the Indians?”

A big question — a big, big question.

In his country, Mendoza said, Indians don't drive pick-up trucks; Indians don't work at big-money jobs. Part of that is the poverty of the Panamanian society, he said. But also, it is widely recognized in the communities that once you begin to move into that life you cease to be Indian.

This began a long discussion that night, around the table. We talked about the People — how they defined themselves, what kind of principles they lived by. Then we talked about poverty and wealth — how they were two sides of the same force, how they could be used as instruments of oppression.

We talked about North and South, about the attempt to live an integral life, and we came to understand how the way of life of Indian people is just as perversely (and maybe even more thoroughly) oppressed by wealth as it is by forced poverty.

The next morning there was to be a report on Geneva in the Longhouse at Akwesasne. I stayed behind in the mountains to finish up some work but Mendoza went along.

The Longhouse was crowded with people — and, after the reports, which were delivered in Mohawk, there was much dancing and singing and a feast.

Mendoza came back late that night. He was smiling. “The confusion has flown away from me,” he said. “I feel good tonight. Down there, at the CASA-LARGA — that was just like being home!”



A Conflict Of World Views

EXCHANGES FROM THE LEGAL COMMISSION

While all three of the special commissions occasioned much insightful testimony and telling exchanges, it was in the legal commission where the most basic contradiction between the Native world view and Western Civilization became evident.

The Native world view is circular, self-contained. It is not based on the expansionist, linear concept of society and history which is the underlying assumption of Western Civilization. The Mother Earth, the Pacha Mama, the territory within which we live is sacred, and must be protected at all cost – not out of some Utopian, or intellectual, or pseudo-spiritual notion – but, simply, because it is where the people live. They have lived on it for hundreds of generations. For Native Peoples the land on which they live is truly “home” – and you don’t destroy your home. The sacred knowledge is simply that what you don’t destroy, you learn to appreciate. If you stay in one place and don’t destroy it – you come to know it. And the Creation, the Great Mystery, the Life Force – the People come to understand, is manifested in everything around us.

The whole process of Western Civilization has been one of displacement. Imperialism, colonialism, the justification of racism – they are all historical processes which flow out of that basic inability to make peace with your surroundings – with the Natural World. There is no contradiction more basic. They are opposing forces, constantly in struggle.

The job of chairing testimony about the very complex network of legal issues involved in the protection of Indian lands and sovereignty could not have been easy. There were many different nations represented, much ground to cover and, worst of all, a very restrictive time schedule. Moreover, we were to work toward a resolution which would encompass a consensus of all the testimony and which could then be presented to a plenary of all the delegates.

Yet, a situation emerged which we found curious.

Mr. Niall MacDermott, the chairman of the legal commission, was frequently at odds with the Native delegates. His manner was seen by some as high-handed and obstructive, even disrespectful, though he constantly made reference to his own commitment to objectivity and impartiality.

The conflict emerged as the delegates of various nations attempted to explain their defensive position against the displacing and extractive processes of Western Civilization.

The following is an exchange between Segwalise of the Hau de no sau nee delegation (and other delegates) and chairman MacDermot. It took place during an attempt to define the wording to a resolution that would protect indigenous land rights.

Segwalise: “(We want)...protection from the processes by which governments can acquire ownership without the agreement of those presently on the land.”

MacDermot: “You realize what you are asking here – you are asking that a right be given to indigenous peoples over land which nobody else has got. Anybody else who owns land anywhere is subject in modern society to having a process of compulsory purchase, compulsory acquisition, for all sorts of public services – whether it is way-leaves, whether it is putting electricity by-lines on, whether it is making roads through them and so forth... What usually one looks for is protection under administrative law to see that the persons who are affected are adequately consulted and have the chance to make proper representations and that those representations are taken into account before a decision is reached and you don’t, for example, as happens in Brazil, just drive a highway right through the area of an indigenous people and substantially destroy the whole of the people in that process – the decision being taken without considering them – but to say that it could never be done, except with their consent would be to say that you could never construct a highway...”

Segwalise: “Right.”

MacDermot: “...would give this right to anybody...”

Segwalise: “That’s right.”

MacDermot: “...would be not only through indigenous peoples’ lands, it would mean a highway anywhere...”

Segwalise: “That’s right, yes.”

MacDermot: “...because anybody, if they had a choice, if they had the power to refuse a highway...”

Segwalise: “You got it.”

(Laughter.)

MacDermot: “Yes, well, depends on what kind of society you want.”

Segwalise: “Right!”

(Laughter.)

MacDermot: “But I am afraid you’ll have great difficulty getting any modern state to accept the idea that there can be no infringement on you land rights without your consent. I think you are asking a bit too much.”

Segwalise: “We are not saying without our consent – we are saying without the agreement of those who presently own the land.”

MacDermot: “That is consent. Agreement is consent...”

Segwalise: “And I mean, if they think that they are just going to ram anything through – I mean – throughout

the entire Western Hemisphere, every doggone country that occupies our land over there does it – they just ram the road right through the middle of Nicaragua (Mesquito country) without consulting anyone. They just ram roads through all over the place and this is to bring a screeching halt to that.”

MacDermot: “Ah, well...I think your solution is a bit too drastic to be practicable.”

Jane Penn (delegate from California): “Mr. Chairman, this business about land...we in California, of the Morongue Indian Reservation passed an ordinance within our tribe and it took three elections but it did pass and the Secretary of Interior recognized its passage and demanded that the Bureau of Indian Affairs abide by our ordinance. It’s standing today – this took place in 1958. So that this does happen. Any rights of way for anything must go to the people for full vote to agree. This can be done. I hope that will give you information.”

MacDermot: “Yes.”

Jose Mendoza (delegate from Panama): “A new wording. The lands occupied by the Indian nations are their property and are under their control. The lands that have been taken away by the various governments, or private individuals, and that the Indians need new, should be returned, in accordance with procedures by which the Indian nations have equal standing with the Western governments represented. This with particular emphasis on the demand for equal standing as a nation – because if this is not recognized, the solution will be an imposed one and not an agreement. Mr. Chairman, in one of your phrases you used the word, to “consult.” Well, as long as we are not recognized as equal nations, the consultation will be nothing more than simply to be informed – ‘Your lands are about to be occupied.’ And that’s it. And that’s to be consulted.”

MacDermot: “The difficulty that I still see is that it would give indigenous peoples a greater right to their land than anyone else has to their land.”

Murmur: “That’s because no one else has any rights left at all!”

Segwalise: “If we work on the basic premise that the indigenous peoples, by prior existence in the hemisphere, have prior land rights to those laws that were imported and that our prior rights were such that we did not allow those kinds of things to go on amongst ourselves – then we are reinforcing the premise that we are not going to allow these things to go on. The Six Nation lands and the Lakotah lands are not part of the United States. The United States does not have ownership where it can just blatantly run its roads through our lands. It has to go in there and consult with us.”



“When Does Complete Destruction Of The Natural Life Become A Legal, Social-cultural Or An Economic Issue?” —Larry Red Shirt

MacDermot: “I know that is your contention and we’ve put that forward...I am afraid that you are focusing your mind too much on your own particular problem.”

What ostensibly began as a simple task of defining precise wording for the indigenous position on the right to own their own territories turned quickly into something larger.

It became apparent very early on that the position being put forth by the Indian Nations was making Chairman MacDermot uncomfortable. Nonetheless, he continually referred to his own objectivity, claiming that he was primarily concerned with arriving at a position acceptable to all concerned.

Yet, as we looked about the room, observing the total situation, the physical set-up, (again) the time element, and even the very idea of so-called objectivity, it became apparent that the clash of cultures (of world-views) represented in that room was inevitable.

In contrast to the full circle of our internal meetings, the Indian delegates had been seated in long rows, one behind the other, and facing a raised platform, which held a long, thick table where the chairman and the official rapporteurs sat. The officials thus towered above the delegates, commanding attention. It was no wonder that some of the delegates continually and mistakenly referred to the chairman as “judge.”

The matter of the time limitation was important. Jose Mendoza, Guaimi from Panama, had expressed it best when he said: “We the Indian people, when we gather together, we do not look at the clock. We do not have minutes. We have a whole lifetime to talk, because it is the problems of our people, of our lives.” As chairman, Mr. MacDermot seemed at times so preoccupied with definition and the time element that often speakers had difficulty getting their points across.

This was interesting because if there was one question upon which the various Indian nations were intimately united it was on the right of Indian peoples to ownership and control of their own territories. Furthermore, the many forms and processes by which Natural World peoples have been dispossessed were also intimately analyzed and understood. There was no confusion on this.

This matter of so-called objectivity is an important one, particularly in the context of the Native position being put forth in Geneva. The traditional Native position is so fundamentally opposed to the whole process of Western Civilization that it is very difficult for people who are coming out of that context, and who represent states (which are also products of it) not to be somewhat shaken by the presentation of it. The concept of impartiality, of “objectivity” comes out of the same confusion that tells us that Man can stand “apart” from Nature. It is a curious notion that tells us an individual can step out of his place in history — and that in this way he can better judge the truth.

But as chairman, this position seemed to make MacDermot uncomfortable, nervous. Thus he clung

tenaciously to his parliamentary authority, to his sense of himself as an “objective” arbiter.

Finally, several delegates began to wonder aloud just whose opinion was this commission prepared to hear — the Native peoples’ or Chairman MacDermot’s?

Nilo Cayuqueo (Mapuche delegate): “I think that doesn’t recognize the aspirations of Indian peoples. For one thing...”

MacDermot: “You must understand that what we are trying to do here in this document is not trying to express all the aspirations of the Indigenous people — what we are trying to find is a general statement of principles which will be acceptable to everyone in this room — including the NGOs represented here and who have their own responsibilities in the matter. I have to try to negotiate a document which will be acceptable to everyone. May I read you the summary of the land question discussion.”

Cayuqueo: “Yes. But I was talking and you interrupted me. Please, when I finish why don’t you then give your opinion.”

MacDermot: “Carry on.”

Cayuqueo: “I am wondering what is your true posture, and would like to ask the assembly if you are authorized to oppose the opinion of the delegates?”

At this point Chairman MacDermot read the summary of the land question discussion. Then Cayuqueo once again asked that his question be put to the assembly. MacDermot reminds that under the true rules of this procedure none of the Indian nations have yet a vote.

Jose Mendoza: “Mr. Chairman, you keep saying that you want to reach a consensus opinion and yet we wonder because the truth is that the position that you want to accept is not ours. So what we want to know is whom do you want to satisfy? Whose consensus — the NGO’s or us — and the problem is ours. So...”

MacDermot: “Trying to get something that is acceptable to both.”

(Tim Coulter, from the Institute for the Development of Indian Law offers a new wording, in an attempt to eliminate the source of some of the tension.)

Cayuqueo: “Not in accord yet. The questions are not of wording only, but are very deep here. We do not mean to seem to be slowing this down. But, we are dealing with our deep problems, therefore there should be the utmost care — and not simplify things — or say that we

don’t have enough time. I have not been satisfied because all these different positions should be considered by us. Now you say that is not possible — that this decision is not only the NGOs’. But I think the Indians must decide — that the NGOs be properly a receptacle of the anxieties of our peoples — but not be decision maker. I believe this is a conference for indigenous people, no?”

MacDermot: “I am afraid you’ve misunderstood the position and if you read the rules of procedure you’ll see that they are as I’ve stated.”

Constantino Lima (Aymara delegate): “Thank you. I want to speak for the Indian peoples who constitute a majority, taking into account Peru, Guatemala, Bolivia. We in Bolivia are practically prisoners in our own territories. This very day — with this motive of Rhodesian immigrants they are building two whole new cities...exclusively for the white racists. How is it possible you won’t accept our position? Is it possible that it’s not right that with or without title we are the owners of our land?”

MacDermot: “Well...but...”

Lima: “I am speaking short. Oh, and I’ve now finished anyway.”

(At this point Armando Rojas Smith, a Mesquito Indian from Nicaragua, and one of the official rapporteurs intercedes.)

Rojas: “I only want to add, Mr. Chairman, that I ally myself with these expressed anxieties of my Indian brothers and I may be here as rapporteur (tape blurry here)... (We represent) a people that has been oppressed and discriminated for more than 500 years. I want to ask the NGOs — do they take this into account or not? Have we travelled all this distance simply to fall into the same thing and to leave here without the result to which we aspire?”

We are seeing the suggestions accepted here coming from organizations such as the OIT — whom we all know does in no way represent the aspirations of Indian people — no matter how much is wished or written or how many pretty words are put to documents — it will never be representative. In a personal way, then, I feel a bit deceived and once again would ask the chairman here to please listen to the suggestions of my Indian brothers.”

MacDermot: (Reading new wording.) “The lands and natural resources of indigenous peoples shall not be taken from them without their full and informed consent... Any NGOs have difficulty accepting that wording?”

Joalie Comnander (Friends Service Committee for Consultation, and NGO): “I would like to raise a



procedural question as a member of a Non-governmental organization. I would like to particularly respond to the demands of the rapporteur, Mr. Rojas Smith. I feel a great need for clarification of what we are doing here. I feel that the indigenous people here would like a section in which they can embody their recommendations — whether or not all NGOs can unite behind them. And while I appreciate the chair trying to come up with recommendations we can all unite behind — I feel that under pressure of time you could be ruling out some things we could all unite behind. And when you feel that it is your own organization that could not, it would be less confusing if you would clarify that you then are not speaking as chairman. Because, to have the chair rule out questions as things the NGOs might not be able to support is pre-judging our readiness to support."

The frustration of the delegates finally found a climax at the end of the first day when Larry Red Shirt of the Lakotah Nation felt the need to comment on it. Several times he attempted to be recognized, and finally, the following exchange took place.

MacDermot: "I assume you are about to express a certain feeling of oppression about the way in which today's discussion has been conducted. I think it would in effect be a criticism of myself. If so, I have every sympathy with the speaker and I certainly wouldn't try to shut him off — but I would ask him if perhaps he could make his statement tomorrow morning, rather than now, because we really have concluded our time now..."

Red Shirt: "No."

MacDermot: "Is there any reason why we can't do it tomorrow?"

Red Shirt: "Yes. It concerns tomorrow."

MacDermot: "Yes, but you can make it tomorrow."

Red Shirt: "It involves what we are going to do tomorrow. So we have to know today."

MacDermot: "We have exhausted our time, and the interpreters...why can't it be tomorrow?"

(Someone else stands now, in support of the statement, but speaks away from the microphone.)

MacDermot: "Wait just a minute. Ah.. Do.. Well.. May I ask everyone whether you would like to hear it tonight or tomorrow morning?"

Audience shouts: "Tonight. Tonight."

MacDermot: "Who would like it tonight — would you hold up your hand?"

(Laughter. Everyone in the room raises their hand. MacDermot looks to the interpreters' booth. They too raise their hands.)

Red Shirt: "I am Red Shirt, of the Lakotah Nation. First of all, I will not call you Sir — but instead, I will say: Brother. I hope you people understand that we are not only concerned about our moral, legal and God-given rights to exist as nations of people, but we are also concerned about the rights and future of our relatives, the four-leggeds, the wingeds, and those that crawl and live in the waters of our Mother, the Earth. What sort of legal document would it require for you to understand that all of us here are affected by what is happening in our part of the world. When does the complete destruction and annihilation of the natural life become a legal, a socio-cultural or an economic issue. I can see that the Red Man has a long way to go if we are to continue with our work in the United Nations. We can get nowhere as long as we have people with paternalistic attitudes and ways to sit in judgment of what we represent — which is the truth itself.

"We are not here begging anyone — but we are here because we heard of a United Nations charter that talks of human rights. We come here with our Sacred Pipe, which is recognized by many nations as a symbol of Peace. We offer our Pipe to the world community as a gesture of good will and perhaps the beginning of better understanding. Maybe the Western Civilization will never understand our spiritual ways, but at least they can understand human rights, if nothing else.

"I have seen disrespect shown to us in this commission. I feel as a criminal who has to prove innocence first — before I am treated as a human being. Tomorrow, we the Lakotah, with our Red Brothers, will again return — with our Sacred Pipe — and maybe then, if you people understand and accept — then we can smoke that Pipe and begin a long journey. We have a long, hard journey ahead of us. Thank you."

OnThe Policy Review Commission:

It became a joke of the late 1960s and early 1970s, during a time when the United States was intensely under attack by many movements, that the typical government response to peoples' needs was: "Say a prayer and establish a commission."

The Native Peoples Movement was no exception, and in 1974 the U.S. Congress set upon itself the task of finding out more about the "Indian problem" establishing the American Indian Policy Review Commission. There was some hope at that time, as always, that maybe some good might come out of this sort of an investigation. Inevitably, however, it became more and more apparent once again that, in the words of one older man: "You don't let the burglar be the judge of his own misdeed."

The attempt of the Commission, it becomes obvious upon close scrutiny, was necessarily of an assimilative nature. Like anything coming out of Congress, it assumes that this is an "Indian problem" and not the problem of Western society and its expansionist drive. The American National Society, and the government that it maintains are, naturally, considered the model to strive for. Indians thus are asked to be allowed to control their own affairs, like "all free Americans."

Once again, at the core of this, is the blind wish to ignore that there are two opposing forces at work here — each representing conflicting ways of viewing man's activity upon the earth.

It is interesting to note that to present its case, the U.S. chose as its representative a Kiowa man. He was seen arriving everyday at the United Nations in a Mercedes Benz, black attache case firmly in hand and neck-tie securely fastened. It made us think of a quote from Constantino Lima, one of the brothers from Bolivia: "And we don't appreciate people coming here wearing the neck-tie either," he had said at one of our meetings. "In my country, the tie is the symbol by which we have been oppressed. No sir, this doesn't belong to us."

The following is part of the U.S. Representative's presentation on the Policy Review Commission and a response by delegates from traditional governments.

Kirk Kickingbird:

"This is the report of the American Indian Policy Review Commission, a special joint Commission of Congress. It was universal in this respect: that it involved three members of the United States Senate, three members of the House of Representatives, and five Indian citizens and a staff of some two hundred, most of whom are Indians, in developing this report. It's extraordinary in that, it was established under the United States' law passed by Congress and signed by the President of the United States. The duty was to two years of examining federal Indian policy.

"Senator Abourezk has doubts about the kinds, the manner in which U.S. policy has been developed, with respect to Indian affairs, in that most of that policy (which) has been developed had not involved Indians. The 206 recommendations deal with legal issues, social and cultural issues, and economic issues. I would like to draw from the introduction to this document a few paragraphs which I think will help you understand the relevance of it and I will submit this document for the record.

"It begins this way: The history once thought ancient and dead has risen to challenge this generation of Americans. It's the fortune of this generation to be the first in our long history to listen attentively to the Indians, and thereby, to begin to understand what they are saying. They recognize realistically their own points of view as a unique part of our population. And to heed their voices for the rightings of wrongs should be ending our frustrations and despair and the attainment of their needs and aspirations as Indians and as very proud Americans. It is generally believed, mistakenly, that the federal government owes the American Indian the obligation of his trusteeship because of the Indian's poverty, or because of the government's wrongdoing in the past.

"Certainly, American Indians are stricken with poverty. And without question, the government has abused the trust given it by the Indian people. But what is not generally known, nor understood, is that within the federal system, the government's relationship with the

On — Eminent Domain:

Segwalise: "The sentence should read: 'the right should be recognized of all indigenous states or people to the return of control over sufficient and suitable lands to enable them to live.' On point number three: 'the ownership of land by indigenous people should be unrestricted and should include the ownership and control of all natural resources, protected from the processes of condemnation and the rights of eminent domain used by dominating states.'"

MacDermot: "What is meant by eminent domain?"

Segwalise: "Particularly in the United States — in the state of New York, for instance — or even the Department of Interior can go in and condemn fertile pasture land for use as a nuclear reactor site — or the state can extend its power of eminent domain to ram a road through your lands, or railroad tracks or power lines, or whatever the heck it wants."

MacDermot: "I think we better not use technical terms which are specific to American law."

Segwalise: "I thought eminent domain was in all Western law."

MacDermot: "I don't know."

Segwalise (to Central American delegate): "You got eminent domain in Spanish law?"

Central American delegate: "Yes."

Segwalise: "See?"

MacDermot: "I assure you we don't have it in English law — from which you derive your law. It's an American term."

Segwalise: "Well, the English simply impose their condition."

MacDermot: "Ah."



Policy Review Comm. Con't

Indian people and their sovereign rights are of the highest legal standing, established through sovereign treaties and by layers of judicial and legislative actions. Today, the past must be used as a backdrop, rather than an indictment. .the backdrop that explains most of what may be known about the present-day conditions of Indians and the relations with the government and the rest of the American people.

"It is a way of seeing into the mind of the Indian people of today. From the earliest days of European settlement, and what is now the United States, and more pertinently since the founding of the Republic, the Indians have been subject to racist attitudes and policies by the advancing non-Indian societies. And after 1789, by the United States government itself.

"Under one hand, every method has been employed forcing to cease being Indians and to conform to the dominant society, while on the other hand, they have been led to believe, in part, from time to time, that the government will support the right to survive as Indians and practice their own culture. A determination which despised every adversity to pressure they have maintained to this day. They have survived, but it has been at a great cost to them.

"The history of social experimentation for the Indians by those who came (—) of their lives and (—) resulted in decades of confusion, hopelessness, and poverty which the Indian people have asserted could never be corrected until they themselves could again be allowed to determine their own lives like all free Americans and could manage and control their own affairs.

"Today, we ask a simple question: Is the American nation yet mature enough and secure enough to tolerate, even to encourage, within the larger culture, societies of Indian people who wish to maintain their own unique tribal governments, culture and religion? The question goes far beyond that of restitution from the misdirected present. Can the United States government redirect its relations with the American Indian to enable them to determine their own lives now and in the future? The question that rings loudly in our ears today. Will it still be today or tomorrow? So let us answer.

"And so, drawing on that introduction, I would like to say that we look forward to the views and recommendations of how the Indians of the Americas are controlled and managed in their affairs and wish every success in developing the recommendations that will come out of this particular commission.

Segwalise: "I've been asked by my chiefs to make a response especially directed in regard to the American Indian Policy Review Commission. Since the first Colonizer put his foot on our land, we have seen a process carried on against our people that has been refined over the years. The policy of the Review Commission is the latest response in the on-going colonization of our lands. It started out as a demand made in 1972 at the time of the Trail of Broken Treaties for treaty commissions to review the treaties and the abrogations and to address those abrogations. But the American response was to create a Policy Review Commission and to measure the effects of their policies in Indian Country and possibly, to refine those.

"Our people, the Hau de no sau nee, and several other traditional governments still maintain that they are

independent, separate governments of the Americas. We are not American Indian citizens, we never wanted to be, we will never be. Our land is separate and distinct from the Americans' and the only policy that comes into our lands has been the colony of racism and genocide, promoted by the non-Indian people who occupy our lands. It is not the policy of the Review Commission, it is something that is not accepted by the Six Nations government."

Steve Talbot: "...I just wanted to inject also information on the Indian Policy Review Commission to the effect, and although some friends of Indian people, progressive non-Indians, had some hopes for this commission. I think it's a true statement that the results of the Commission and the way Commission reports are being used are a great disappointment to those hoping for some progressive measure, that I heard, for example, Mr. Hank Adams, Oglala, a member of that Commission, describe his hopes for it in the beginning. His great disappointment led to a conclusion that he was ashamed for being associated with that Commission."

Russell Means: "I just want to say to the disenfranchised delegate from the United States State Department that during the two years of the existence of the Policy Review Commission, the Indian people of the United States of America lost over forty thousand acres of land and this year alone, we have already lost, the Lakota Nation have already lost, the gunnery range, approximately thirty-five thousand acres of land thanks to the non-action of the Congress and the Policy Review Commission. We have also lost jurisdiction on the Standing Rock Reservation, the Rosebud, the Sisseton Wahpeton Sioux Tribe, their reservations, their lands have been diminished by high court action and actions by the United States Congress.

The Work Beyond Geneva:

During the week of November 15-17, the Non-Governmental Organizations presented the resolutions and official reports of the conference to the various organizations of the United Nations. There had been some confusion early in the month about exact dates and times. When this matter was finally cleared, only two nations were able to have representatives present, the Hau de no sau nee (Iroquois) and the Lakota (Sioux).

The Treaty Council, acting in its capacity as an NGO, helped the native delegation gain entrance to a series of important meetings. On November 15, the delegation met with Ambassador Salim Ahmed of Tanzania, and Chairman of the U.N. Committee on de-colonization. Ambassador Salim emphasized that the processes of the U.N. are slow and not always conclusive, but the processes can also be beneficial in obtaining recognition and publicity about a people's struggle. Speaking in his capacity as the Tanzanian ambassador, he asked that he be supplied with information about the native people's struggle that he could send to his government.

Also on November 15, the delegation met with Cuban Ambassador Ricardo Alarcon. During this meeting the ambassador was asked to convey to his government the native people's "thank you" for the support Cuba gave during the conference. Ambassador Alarcon was extremely helpful in explaining the workings of the U.N. and its organizations. He also asked for documentation, newspapers and other materials that would be useful to helping his government understand the native struggle in the Western Hemisphere.

On November 16, the delegation met with the Ambassador of Togo, who is chairman of the African bloc, to understand, and seek ways to support the Native struggle in the Americas. He also promised to insure that the report and resolutions of the conference were distributed to the African representatives.

On the afternoon of the 16th the Treaty Council arranged a press conference in the U.N. building. The world press members were given copies of the semi-official report and also given the chance to question the delegation. The major emphasis of this press conference was that the world was beginning to see that there is a hemispheric movement amongst the native peoples. They were also told that this movement would continue and that the conference in Geneva was only a beginning. On November 17, the delegation met with the President of the General Assembly. The meeting lasted approximately 20 minutes but produced some very positive points. The President spoke at length about a global need for understanding man's relationship with the rest of the natural world. He emphasized that if this did not occur soon, that man as a species may soon find himself becoming extinct. He also told the delegation that he had been following the native movement with interest and concern and was in support of their struggle for freedom. His final point was to promise that he would make the findings of the conference known to the General Assembly. On November 18, he did make this presentation to the final session of the General Assembly.

This week served a major role in the ongoing process that is needed to obtain world support and recognition for the native people's struggles. It continued the clarification that there is a struggle going on that is not based on transplanted ideologies. The delegation clarified at each meeting that they were representatives of the original governments of the Western Hemisphere. They also spoke strongly about the responsibility they had to speak also in defense of the Natural World. Maybe it was just political politeness, but at each meeting the various representatives seemed too interested in listening to a fresh line of thought. Before the World fully understands the native people's position, there will need to be many more such sessions.

HOW DO WE CONTINUE THIS ADVANCE?

The major question in native people's minds seems to be, "There has been a conference, but what is needed now to insure that the ball doesn't stop there?" Clearly up front is the reality that an international campaign is a complex and expensive matter. The conference left the Institute for the Development of Indian Law nearly

\$9,000 in the red, it also nearly bankrupted the Treaty Council, as well as dozens of individuals and the Traditional Councils. The total effort to bring about the conference involved hundreds of people and working hours. So the first thoughts need to focus on where does the money come from, and who can be mobilized to carry on the work?

The second point that emerged, not so clearly, was the fact that the conference showed us some weaknesses in organizational structure. A tremendous workload was taken on that our organizations did not have the finances for, nor the manpower and expertise readily available. Each of the various organizations were able to carry on a specialized portion of the work, but none emerged as having the staff or capabilities for marshalling the total amount. This point needs to be seriously looked at. One thought that may be helpful is to realize that organizations are only tools. They help us obtain certain goals, but the ultimate goal expressed during the conference was for the recognition of our Nations. If that goal is to be obtained, then it might be necessary for the Nations to re-evaluate the role of organizations for the remainder of this struggle.

If the Nations are going to carry the struggle forward, then they need to identify from their own members those people they wish to have working in the international circles. Those persons would obviously have to be people who believe in and practice the Ways of Life they come from. It is these kinds of persons that will help keep world understanding clear as to the nature and direction of native resistance.

In carrying this struggle forward, the Nations need to aggressively go forth and identify those other nations who will be their friends. In all ways possible the native nations need to keep making their presence known throughout the world. At all times our organizations need to be receiving direction as to the role they can play from situation to situation.

At the end of October, the Hau de no sau nee (Iroquois) hosted a meeting of the Four Directions. Representatives from the Lakota, Hopi and Seminole Nations journeyed to the Six Nations' lands. The main purpose of the meeting was to come to clear understandings about each others positions and direction toward the future. It was the consensus of that meeting that these four nations would work together in whatever ways possible to secure the victories each needed. During the meeting, each of the treaties and alliances that these four nations have with each other were all recounted and reaffirmed. Each of the nations spoke from the prophecies and sacred instructions that each has, and everyone there learned that we have reached a truly significant time for our peoples. As two-leggeds, the native people can do much of the work necessary, but in the long run, the Pipe, the Law, and the Religions of our peoples will guide us to the final victory. These are the foundations of our nations, not constitutions and by-laws or quorums. These are the things that make us different and the things that need defending.



"In Our Country We Are Millions."

CONSTANTINO LIMA, EXILED AYMARA INDIAN LEADER FROM BOLIVIA TALKS ABOUT PRISON, THE LEFT, CHE GUEVARA, AND THE DEVELOPING LIBERATION MOVEMENT OF HIS PEOPLE

The short, stocky man jumped to his feet.

"I want to talk!...I need the floor!"

"We cannot all talk at once! I have not given you the floor."

"You must allow it!"

"I have not given you the floor. Would the gentleman who is controlling the light please not give the light to anyone except when I point to that person and give him the authority to speak — otherwise we have confusion — with several people talking at once. So please stop — I have not given the floor to you."

"Discrimination!" the short man shouted. "Discrimination!"

He was Constantino Lima. The "constant one," a driven man, shot several times, arrested, tortured, and then — after a demanding international campaign — spirited from an 8 X 8-foot concrete cell with no window or toilet to be released in Canada, Land of Development.

Lima was in Geneva to denounce the racism and discrimination against the Indian people of Bolivia. He is now an exile, barred from his homeland — an ambassador for the movement.

In 1972, when the fascist Bolivian Head of State, General Hugo Banzer, declared himself the "campesino's best friend," it was Lima who retorted, at a public rally in La Paz: "No, you are the Indian's worst enemy."

"Banzer's hounds," said Lima, during a September interview in Geneva, "got hungry for me."

For Lima, it marked the intensification of a struggle that began for him very early in life.

The history of Bolivia, as with most of the countries of the American continent, is the history of the conquest and domination of Indian peoples by European colonial settlers and the various types of governments they devised for themselves.

"From the time I was eight years old," says Lima, "I had a political consciousness, more or less defined, because I had experienced, in my own flesh, the racial discrimination. My mother, my father — they were both miners, you see. My mother — she worked in the Bolico Mine, she is a miner too. And my father is Aymara, from the Chilean side — so they were raised that way.

"After they were married, they went back to the countryside — which is where we were born and raised. In the countryside, the discrimination, the racism, is very, very open — very frank, you might say. For example, I could go with my mother to the central market in Camacho — about 10 kilometers — carrying firewood, which we would sell to the whites there. Well, it is a very definite subjugation. They control. They would pay us whatever price they wanted. We nearly had to beg to sell it, you see. We had no other way of making a few cents — to buy a little salt, or some cloth, or such.

"So I experienced, early on, those insults — how they would pull my mother's braids — kicking us. How they did all they wanted with us.

"Sometimes, we'd go to the authorities — the police. We looked for some kind of justice. Work and work and get spit on. The police would admonish us: 'You have to respect these white people. You are ignorant.' And even while in there, while trying to seek justice, the insults continued. Sometimes the police raped the women. Right there. With the kids there. Women that tried to complain. So I learned, very early, for us there is no justice. We are not recognized as persons, as human beings."

The current Bolivian Indian Movement, claims Lima, grew out of the recognition by increasing numbers of

Indian people, that they could never obtain justice under the present circumstances.

"The whites control everything," Lima says. "We are under their boot.

"I started school at 14 years of age and finished primary in an Adventist school, in a so-called religious school, controlled and run by whites. Then I went into military service — a compulsory obligation for us in Bolivia. There it was the same. I would see the parades. It was actually humorous. The whites and mestizos on the horses — their fine medals and uniforms, and the Indians — the Indians marching behind."

In 1962, the Indian consciousness of discrimination turned into a movement for sovereignty and self-dignity, Lima says. There had been other efforts in the past, many of them, but it was then that a "proper work" began.

"We have organized and mobilized large sectors," Lima says. "We have our languages. We have a community way of life. We have a culture that has been attacked. We have a recognized, common oppressor."

By 1968, some young Indians had pressured the universities and had begun the process of learning skills in the field of law, medicine, social sciences, which would allow them a greater latitude in the struggle to defend their people. They began to make known the Indian situation in a public way and to link up internationally. They also called for mass campesino mobilizations, working primarily in the countryside communities.

"Through it all," Lima says, "we underestimated the viciousness of the regime. We assumed social justice was something everyone desired — that if we just made our anxieties known, somehow beneficial action would follow."

But instead of "beneficial action," what has followed the rise of a movement consciousness in Bolivia has been brutal repression. In 1974, a small, local conflict in the town of Guchabamba grew into a full-scale demonstration.

"It was the same as what I used to experience with my mother," Lima says. "Our Indian women going to market to sell their meager products would be

continually abused. The police would come out: 'Let's see your license.' Now, license or no license, that is not the problem. The problem was that there is no consistency. One day you could sell without the license, the next day you couldn't. Or you would get a license and still, the police would come and confiscate your produce. It was all whimsical. A lack of respect.

"Well, people reacted one day. There was a big strike. A few thousand people ended up in the market square. And you know their only demand: they wanted a guarantee — one way or another — about selling things there. That's all. And peaceful. Not one violent thought, not a revolver in sight. So innocent.

"The president — the same General Banzer who declares himself our 'best friend,' he was contacted. The people expected he personally would help them resolve this small problem of guarantees.

"So, on the third or fourth day of the demonstration, down the road, people heard big noise coming. Everyone was happy, thinking, 'the General is coming to resolve.' Then runners came. 'It's tanks,' they said. And then the planes overhead. And you know, the people thought — well, the General, he always travels big like that. They still waited. Then the shooting started. The tanks fired. The planes did the machine guns from the air. Horrible, horrible. People running. Heads, arms, hands, legs. Brutal, brutal. Over 1,300 died. This we know. The official press — they say 200. But we have the count — it is that many more."

The worst part about it, Lima says, is that the soldiers who are ordered to conduct such massacres are very often recruited or conscripted from poor Indian communities.

"So this has been an area for us — to do work among the soldiers. To change their minds around, to point their guns the other way.

"You see, that is everything for us — to turn everything they throw at us, to throw it back at them. Our movement grows from everything they do to us. Because we are stronger, we are more numerous. We have a thing: we say there is no such thing as *white man*. That is just a thing, an identity invented by the Europeans to justify their enslavement of other peoples.

"Maybe there is no such thing as Indian people. The



“Then runners came. ‘It’s tanks,’ they said. And then the planes overhead. And you know, the people thought, well, the General, he always travels big like that. They still waited. Then the shooting started.”

term Indian, the meaning of Indian, what is that? Well, historically it is the term used by the colonizers to identify us, to separate us, to make us less than them. It was a knife, you see, a denial. Well, we say now — let us turn this around. Let this be their gift to us. Let this be our tool. Because I am an Aymara, you see. That’s who I am. And the brother over there, he is a Guaimi; and that one — he is a Mesquito. But what glues us to each other — ah, — the way we have been seen, the way we have been tortured. All right, let it now be *our* knife.

“Our movement now, there is no turning us back. So, we get to the soldiers, and the guns that have been used against us — they will turn. Already, in some cases, soldiers have shot officers and officers shot soldiers, for the soldiers’ refusal to fire on the people.

“But they are clever, these white people. They know of these changes taking place. So they are starting the plans by which no Indians will be included in the army. The whitewash of the army, we call it.”

It is a whole way of thinking that is not unusual now among the ruling circles in Bolivia. Lima explains. Since 1958, there has been in existence a strategy that has come to be known as the “White Plan” or “Plan Rhodesia.” It is simply this: to turn minority rule into majority rule by importing whites from around the world, to settle more and more regions of the country.

“The idea is to exterminate or minorize us,” says Lima. “They plan to bring five million more whites — from Rhodesia, Holland, and Canada. This would solve the Indian problem for them. But that alone won’t do. That is too slow. We are strengthening too fast for them. No, the next thing is to start a war. A war they must have. They want to provoke a war. Chile against Peru; Argentina against Chile. Like there has to be a war. Like the Chaco War — which had no other purpose than to exterminate the Indian. The Indian goes first to war, my father always said. So this worries us.”

Because of this, Lima says, although they have had no direct contact, the Bolivian Indian Movement can identify very closely with the struggle of Blacks against colonialism in Southern Africa. There are very similar forces at work in both cases, he says. He also personally identifies with the Basque struggle for sovereignty in Spain, he says.

“Much like the Black brothers in Southern Africa,” Lima says, “we would like to gain control of our lives through a democratic process. No doubt. But we are excluded from that. We are convinced this is out of the question. They are not about to give us that possibility. So we must prepare ourselves for a violent struggle. There is no alternative.

“I mean, if we were to present ourselves in an election and were to win, well, we could not take our posts. This is not possible. So we have to make an armed revolution. And also, of course, this international strategy is of interest to us. We know, let’s say enough world pressure were exerted — that the U.S. and the Soviet Union — the Super Powers — that if they wanted us to have power — they would make it happen, and in the twinkling of an eye. Or they could exterminate us in the twinkling of an eye. We know this. So, if they want to kill us, finally, we are ready. But certainly we don’t want to continue on our knees. So, it could be that an international campaign could force an election — maybe international pressure — but we don’t count on it.”

It happened in 1974, Lima says, that the Indian Movement was about to enter, full force, in an electoral campaign. That election never took place, and it was, he charges, precisely that fact, that the Indian Movement was going to run, that kept it from taking place.

“Both the left and the right,” Lima says, “got scared of us. When the chips were down, they were both against the Indian.”

The problem with the left is a peculiar one for us, Lima says. “They talk of class struggle; we talk of liberation. The Left talks about offering us a better economic situation. Well, we don’t care for that — we want to govern ourselves.

“Our basic idea is to make our own socialism — not the class struggle, which says that man always has to be in

conflict with himself. That idea we don’t understand too well. No, our main problem is the racism, the racism that will not allow us to be human beings.

“The socialism of Tawantinsuyo. In our time there was not a class structure. And even now, we have no classes — we are underneath the classes. So of what class struggle can we speak?”

It was after Lima’s open denunciation of Banzer that the Bolivian police apparatus began to close in on his political activities.

“I eluded them three times,” he says, with a grin. “Always, when I was with my own people — they couldn’t touch me. It was humorous. They couldn’t track me down. They would ask people: ‘Where is Lima?’ They’d say: ‘Who?’ ”

“In the countryside, you know, I put on my poncho, my sandals, my hat — and who is to know? I am just another Indian. The Left doesn’t understand this. They don’t understand how things really work with us. It takes a long time to know us, a long time.



“Many people believe I hate the white man. No. Of course, I hate how it takes place — the discrimination, the mentality of ‘Indio e Mierda.’ They occupy our country and they don’t let us breathe. But if a white man declares himself in alliance, in friendship with us — then I accept — that is no problem.

“We had the brother Che Guevara, from Cuba. He came to our land. But he came to help us and he aligned himself with the Left, with the whites. This is the reality. Only one Indian with him in the guerrilla. A clear proof, and a miner, alienated as an Indian. But for us, during all that time, it was in the press that we would hear of him.

“But Che, he didn’t connect with us. If he had only gone through our communities a bit, before — he never would have died. It pains me — because I don’t know what his real sentiment was. So maybe he had a good feeling for us — so it pains us. A death like that pains us. We would have liked to know. Yes, it would have been most pretty if Che Guevara had come to meet us and we are sure that we would have protected him. We could have kept him secret a long, long time. There are ways of doing that.

“But he went to the woods right away, and there he was killed. And yet it pains us. And we don’t know — so some say: well, maybe he was another Bolivar, or another Sucre, you know, the so-called liberators of the “independence” which we, of course, don’t recognize. But, humanly speaking, we feel his loss, and we are sorry that a people like the Cubans don’t know what is happening with us and the Leftists in Bolivia.”

It was precisely at a meeting between the Indian Movement and the Left forces that Lima was finally captured by Banzer’s police.

“It was a dialogue,” Lima recalls. “They wanted our support. No, we said, you should support us. We were going around like that, talking nonsense, taking too long and getting careless.”

The police moved in and made the arrests.

“Right away, we were separated. The Left to one place. The Indians elsewhere. In my case, I was pistol-whipped, along with my brother. Then beaten — for three days. They know how to do the most painful tortures now, without killing. They use rubber tubing, electricity, make you run up and down stairs. When you pass out they use the Iktapulla — a grass with a small flower on it that has some very interesting spines that are guaranteed to bring you out of any faintness. A barbarous pain.

“Then I was one year at forced labor — though for the first three months I couldn’t move. My body was as dead.

“And it was in prison where the difference between the city Leftists and the campesino Indios was most evident. There was an open division. They had money, food — were not made to work. At first, I thought to check carefully that it was not the jailers’ own manipulation. I hoped that it was. But, after all, they did not share their food, even. I found very little true spirit of solidarity with them.”

After two years of imprisonment, much of that time in isolation, Lima’s case got focused international attention from Amnesty International and other groups. The Banzer government finally shipped him out one day. He landed in Canada, where he has been living since, mostly among Indian people.

“But, you know,” he says, “I find it very difficult to live in Canada — both personally and morally. The worst job, the most menial task that I may earn a living with in Canada makes me a rich man by comparison to my family in Bolivia. I feel further and further away from my people — getting used to this way of living, this food, this fast life. No, I cannot continue to live there and maintain my integrity. This is a hard life for me.”



THE CONFUSING SPECTRE OF WHITE BACKLASH

Stories are appearing across the wires of international press services which tell of a rising tide of white backlash in America, a white backlash aimed at American Indian peoples and their attempts to assert sovereignty over their lands. The reports say that this is a popular movement against Indian rights, based on peoples' fears generated by land claims in the East, fishing rights in the Pacific Northwest, and fears of tribal jurisdiction over non-whites in states with large Native territories and populations.

It is tempting to simply report the so-called backlash organizations and their activities, and to analyze, one at a time, the legislative bills which have been submitted to Congress to give the whole affair something of the same treatment that it has been receiving in the press and elsewhere, and maybe to say a few words about how racism is the culprit fanning the fires of anti-Indian feelings in the United States. But, somehow that approach feels unsatisfactory. The facts, weighed against the assertions, leave some unsettling questions questions which must be answered.

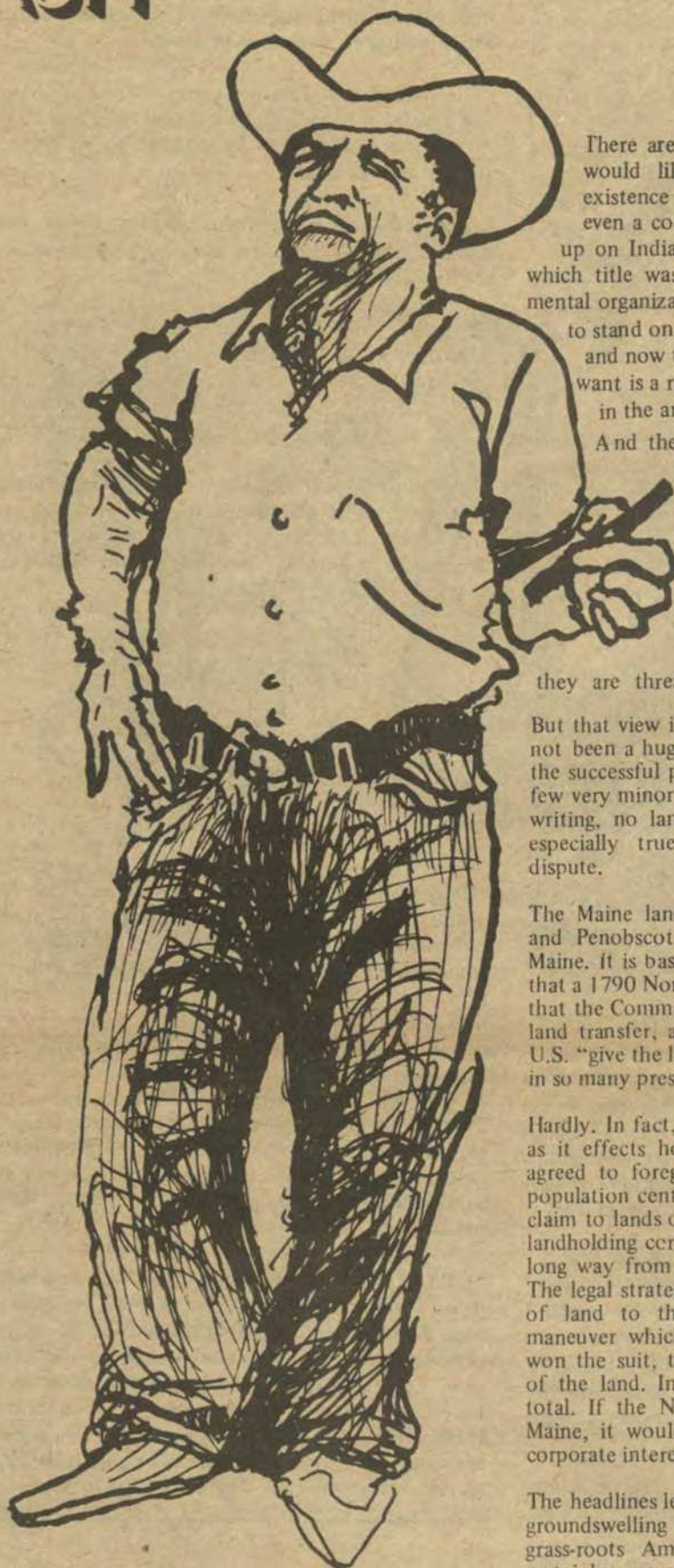
There are, to be sure, a number of "citizen's action" groups which are pressing for legislation which would extinguish Native rights in a number of areas. A group of farmers and ranchers, mostly in Montana and South Dakota, formed an organization which calls itself Interstate Congress for Equal Rights and Responsibilities (ICERR). Although that group talks about rights, their objective is clearly an effort to deprive Native peoples of land and resources, and also an effort to destroy whatever Native identity has survived past efforts of this nature. They would like to see an end to the "reservation" system, and they make it clear that their reasons are because they feel that *they* and not the Indians, are the victims of unequal laws, even though all historical evidence points to the contrary.

A group called "Civil Liberties for South Dakota Citizens" is largely composed of people who own or lease at least 75% of the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota. Their group has about 100 members, mostly ranchers. They talk a lot about law and order, are heavily armed and possess fairly sophisticated equipment usually associated with law enforcement agencies. As a people who have penetrated the reservations and who have a property interest in Pine Ridge, (a property interest which was sponsored by the federal government and which is intended to remove land and resources from the use and control of Native people,) they are petty colonists of the classic mold. But they are not very great in number. They do find allies among John Birch and Minute-Men types around the country. Their motivations are clear—the treaties and the federal court recognition of even some vestiges of Lakota sovereignty are visible barriers to their absolute control of the area of Pine Ridge and the people living there.

That environmentalists are opposing Native people in the struggle for land and sovereignty (and often just for a little human dignity,) points to one of the powerful effects of colonialism. It sounds strange at first glance that the Sierra Club, the Friends of the Earth, and the Isaac Walton League should be a work preventing Native people from obtaining lands which are rightfully Native lands (not many are seriously arguing that point,) and which Native people have occupied for centuries with little visible destruction of the environment.

The Native people, specifically the traditional Native people, have both religious and cultural roots in the conservation of the land and its animal and plant life which are so deep that they are generally incomprehensible to most of the environmentalists. But many of the environmental conservation groups operate on a concept of Nature that has Man somehow separated from all of Nature's processes. They are embarked on a program of separating man from Nature on the thesis that because Western Man is always destructive of the environment, so must it be with all humans. Thus have environmentalists opposed allowing the Havasupai to remain on their ancestral lands in the Grand Canyon—pressing for the removal and disruption of a people who have occupied that place since time immemorial and who have, incidentally, every moral and human right to remain there.

But the environmentalists, at least in this instance, are somewhat blinded by their own cultural history. They are moving to conserve Nature in its abstract purity, and that abstract purity translates to mean wilderness without Man. The Native people, at least the traditional



Native people, carry the process of respect for nature a step further. Rather than viewing the land romantically, as a virgin wilderness, they view it as a loving mother, productive, protective and sacred. They interact with the land. Somehow, the same old conflicts are there. And the same results: the Native people and their way of life is threatened by invaders who have another plan.

Then, of course there are the sportsmen. Basically the sportsmen's position is that all Native rights to fishing, hunting and gathering under the treaties should be extinguished. Their purpose, however, is not preservation of the wildlife. They see the wildlife as their own private property, paid for by their hunting licenses. They want to preserve this wildlife so it will be available to them on weekends as trophies. (In England, a few centuries ago, the king would get really upset if any of the peasants 'poached' any of *his* deer.) Although Indians account for very little of the game taken in this country, and even less of the fish, different regional sportsmen's groups, (especially in the State of Washington) and the National Wildlife Federation, have been urging the termination of Native hunting rights under the treaties.

It should be mentioned at this point that Native hunting and fishing rights were reserved under many treaties, and also that Native people have never really been able to exercise those rights. The taking of Native hunting rights, in most areas, would simply make legal the situation of illegal arrests and seizures of Native peoples which has been going on for many decades and which was, for all that time, promoted to be legal.

There are a number of political organizations which would like to extinguish the concept of Native existence also. Any number of towns, townships, and even a couple of cities have expanded into or grown up on Indian lands which were either leased or on which title was under a cloud. Many of these governmental organizations have neither a legal nor a moral leg to stand on. They simply encroached on Native lands and now they want to stay there. What they don't want is a recognition of Native jurisdiction or in the areas that they have encroached upon.

And then, of course, there is the publicity which has been given the land claims. The story is circulating that there are a large number of federal court decisions which will result in the return of great amounts of land to Native nations; that the return of such lands is a great moral wrong because private landowners bought the land in good faith and now they are threatened with the loss of their homes.

But that view is not supported by the facts. There have not been a huge number of Indian victories resulting in the successful pursuit of land claims. There have been a few very minor victories in the federal courts, and at this writing, no lands have been won in this way. This is especially true in the much-publicized Maine land dispute.

The Maine land dispute concerns the Passamaquoddy and Penobscot claim to a large area of the state of Maine. It is based on a Supreme Court ruling that stated that a 1790 Non-intercourse Act was violated at the time that the Commonwealth of Massachusetts negotiated the land transfer, a fact which is undisputed. But will the U.S. "give the land back to the Indians," as has appeared in so many press headlines?

Hardly. In fact, that is not even in the list of possibilities as it effects homeowners in Maine. The Indians have agreed to forego their claim to the areas which have population centers. They are interested in pressing their claim to lands owned by the state and also by eight large landholding corporate families in Maine. And they are a long way from pressing a successful claim to even that. The legal strategy of their attorneys is based on a return of land to the federal trust responsibility, a legal maneuver which would mean that even if the Indians won the suit, they would have a less-than-total control of the land. In fact, it would be very much less than total. If the Native people did win any land back in Maine, it would be won from the hands of powerful corporate interests there.

The headlines leave us with the impression that there is a groundswelling of anti-Indian movement among the grass-roots American people, and such headlines are certainly geared to create such a "backlash", but generally support for Native causes seems to be growing rather than shrinking. The Native struggle for land is not a struggle for the land of American homeowners generally. That struggle has, however, been used as a tool to frighten people into opposing Native movements, especially in the area of land, and the strategy extends to include opposition to Native sovereignty.

The list of reasons that there should be a public groundswell of anti-Indian feelings in the country is long, but it is not a convincing list. Certainly there are no reasons that there should be a widespread reaction to injustices against non-Native people in the areas of court jurisdiction when there have been no real cases of abuses in those areas. The reaction against Native people having and exercising sovereignty over their own territories just doesn't justify the present climate in Congress which is fairly certain to result in the passage of laws which severely limit Native control over Native territories.

But Congress is considering such legislation at this very moment in history. The reason has nothing to do with hunting and fishing, (the conservation of the game and fish,) and it has nothing to do with the rights of homeowners in Maine either. The reason is that a long-standing strategy of controlling the resources on Indian territories is being countered in some instances by Indians who do not want development in their country and who are taking steps to halt that development.

And the beneficiaries of the legislation proposed by Meeds are neither the Indian people nor the local citizenry. The Meeds bill is in fact a study in hypocrisy,

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in its statements about “protecting” the rights, etcetera. What the Meeds bill is intended to do is to see to it that the Indian people in the Southwest do not use water which would go to the interests of corporate ranches and industrial uses. It is also intended to protect the exploiters of Native lands from taxation in the Northern Great Plains. That is the reason behind legislation which limits Native sovereignty. Native jurisdiction could pose a threat to such development, a threat which big business is moving to eliminate. And the only way that threat can be successfully eliminated is by passage of legislation which would limit Native jurisdiction.

But it would not be good public relations if that were the way it was presented in the press. And so, it is necessary to manipulate non-Native groups and organizations to press the charges in other terms—in the areas of somewhat obscure rights against prosecution under Native jurisdiction on the theory that Native people always abuse non-Native people in courts.

And the other strategy is to blame the Native people that it is happening. Indians have gone too far, they have asked too much, according to Meeds. But the Native people have not gone too far. In fact, they have not done very much at all. Most of the Native governments have generally been little more than rubber stamps for federal policy since the days of the Indian

Reorganization Act. What is changing is that there is emerging another era of gross theft of Native resources, and that process is threatened by the potential of Native peoples exercising their rights over their resources.

There are major pieces of legislation before Congress which would extinguish Native rights in a number of areas. The Cunningham bill is probably best seen as a smokescreen for the Meeds bills. The Cunningham Bill is a piece of straight termination legislation, intended to stir up some amount of response from the Native people and their supporters, but which stands little chance of passage.

The Meeds bills however, sound on the surface, much more logical. They would serve most of the purposes of the Cunningham bill. Most specifically, they would freeze Native peoples access to water at a point prior to one at which most Native communities would actually have use of much water. (HR 9951) The proposal concerning criminal and civil jurisdiction would place outside Native jurisdiction all activities by non-Indians on their lands, making all non-Natives in Indian country immune to criminal and civil action by the injured community. It is the same as if the U.S. passed a law saying that U.S. citizens who commit a breach of law in Nigeria could not be tried by Nigerians, but instead must be sent home to an American court and tried before an American jury. This law is considered following a decade

of relatively unsuccessful attempts to secure prosecution for crimes (including murder) against Native people. (Remember Bad Heart Bull.) The statement can't be avoided after all—racism is a powerful tool in this piece of legislation, and a tool which clearly serves the people with plans for expansion in Indian country.

This then, is why the Meeds bills have a good chance of passage in Congress. The powerful multi-nationals do not want to deal with the spectre of Native peoples' efforts to tax and zone, to set up court systems which could regulate their access to water and which could regulate their effluence, and which could “interfere” with issues of coal and uranium mining. In short, they don't need Native people to be exercising sovereignty which might cut into profits.

And they have a powerful ally on their side. They have the ally of two hundred years of confusion. Confusion on the part of the environmentalists, who have trouble seeing that the commercial interests are a hundred times more destructive to the land than all the humans in the world, and that removal of Native people pushes forward commercial interests in the long run.

Confusion on the part of the American public, which has not been told, and at any rate is reluctant to believe, that the Native people are pressing for the lands which are held, not by the common people, but by the huge aristocratic land holders of the Northeast, the same people who own some 85% of the land in this country.

Confusion on the part of the Native people who still see the white Americans as the enemy, and who have not come to understand that the white Americans are a people who have been dispossessed as they are being dispossessed. And their continued confusion as they look to the system of colonial governments which have made them victims of the exploitation of their lands and, increasingly, their labor.

As I said in the beginning, it is tempting to report this issue as one which is simply another legislative ploy, to find out who is the beneficiary of that ploy, to analyze the conflicts, and to let it go at that. But somehow, that is not the whole story; the message at this point is not complete.

Colonization is an extremely complex process. It is a process which truly makes the colonized dependent, even for their information about the nature of their colonization. The big corporate interests are the beneficiaries, in a primary way, of the legislative effort to limit Native peoples sovereignty. And their arguments in favor of those limitations are interesting because Native people are held to be trying to assert superior rights simply because, if they have any rights, if they can assert any rights, they are almost the only people who would be able to do so in North America. The problem is not that Indians want too much sovereignty, jurisdiction, or whatever you call control over your life and the world you live in. The problem is that the rest of the population has too little control over those things.

The colonized are always also colonizers unless they are active, total resistors of their own colonization. And that is wherein lies the great contradiction which has been so hard to unearth in this drama. The Native people are resisting, in some instances, a major part of the colonization process evident in their communities—arrival of coal and uranium mining interests. And they are opposed by an array of non-Indian organizations who think they are acting in their own self-interest in limiting another peoples' control (sovereignty) over their lands and peoples. That is the great problem in this culture. People have a great deal of trouble seeing where their real interests lie because they are dependent on exactly those things which are in opposition to their own real interests. And they have trouble seeing and acting on that fact.

Colonialism is everybody's problem—everybody's enemy. That is the problem here. What is clear, at least in this instance, is that opposition to the Meeds bills is a positive strategy in opposition to that process. And support of Native sovereignty is a strategy in opposition to that process, too. From there, maybe it will be possible for people to see the need to support local peoples right to self-determination wherever definite communities can be seen to exist. Whenever we struggle, or assist in the struggle, against interests which are external to those of the people who live in the place which is affected, we are moving in a direction which supports the development of human rights—of resistance to colonialism. That is the message here. That is what people need to come to understand.

—Sotsisowah

THE MEEDS BILLS: A study in hypocrisy

H.R. 9950

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Mr. Meeds (for himself, Mr. Foley, Mr. Pritchard, Mr. Bouker, Mr. Cunningham, Mr. Dicks, Mr. McCormack, Mr. Hansen, Mr. Stangeland, and Mr. Abdnor) introduced the following bill: which was referred jointly to the committees on Interior and Insular Affairs, the Judiciary, and Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

A BILL

To allocate civil and criminal jurisdiction among the United States, the States, and Indian tribes, and to define the limits of State and tribal regulatory power.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the “Omnibus Indian Jurisdiction Act of 1977”.

CONGRESSIONAL FINDINGS AND DECLARATION OF POLICY

Sec. 2. (a) The Congress finds that its policy of permitting reservation Indians to govern themselves and order their own internal affairs, and the concomitant congressional insulation of reservation Indians from the application of most of the laws of the State of which they are citizens while on the reservation, have created great uncertainty over the limits of State and tribal power, and constitute barriers to the effective administration of justice.

(b) In order to allow Indian tribes to choose to preserve their unique cultural identities, it is the policy of Congress to allow to Indian tribes a limited power of self-government over affairs on the reservation among their members. It is not the policy of Congress that tribal powers of self-government be expanded to include power over nonmembers. Subjection of nonmembers to the powers of Indian tribes is not warranted by the fundamental Federal policy of allowing reservation Indians to control their own affairs, nor is it consistent with basic American principles of democratic control of governmental power. Rather, nonmembers are to be subject only to the laws of the United States and of the States. It is the purpose of this Act to resolve jurisdictional anomalies, gaps, and uncertainties according to these principles.

TITLE I – CRIMINAL LAW AND JURISDICTION

Definitions

Sec. 101. (a) Section 1151 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by striking out the title of the section and inserting in lieu thereof “Definitions”, by inserting “(a)” immediately before the first sentence thereof, and by adding at the end thereof the following:

“(b) For purposes of sections 1152, 1153, and 1161, and sections 1166 through 1170, the term—

“(1) ‘tribe’ has the meaning given the term ‘Indian tribe’ in section 201(1) of the Act entitled ‘An Act to prescribe penalties for certain acts of violence or intimidation, and for other purposes’, approved April 11, 1968 (82 Stat. 77; 25 U.S.C. 1301 (1)).

“(2) ‘Indian’ means (A) any individual of substantial Indian blood who is validly enrolled or recognized by an Indian tribe and the United States as a member of the tribe, and (B) any corporation or other entity formed or existing under the law of an Indian tribe if all its members, shareholders, and equity owners are validly enrolled in or recognized as members of the tribe under whose law the corporation or entity is formed or exists.

“(3) ‘member’ means any individual Indian whose domicile is within the boundaries of the Indian country of the tribe in which he is enrolled or recognized as a member and any Indian corporation or other entity which is formed or exists under the law of the tribe with respect to which reference is made, and

“(4) ‘State’ means any State of the United States and any political subdivision of a State; when reference is made to the

laws of a state, the laws of political subdivisions of a State are included.”.

(b) The analysis preceding chapter 53 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by striking out “1151. Indian country defined,” and inserting in lieu thereof “1151. Definitions.”.

FEDERAL CRIMINAL JURISDICTION

Sec. 102. (a) Section 1152 of title 18, United States Code, is amended to read as follows:

“§1152. Assimilative crimes in Indian country”

“Section 13 of title 18, United States Code, is applicable in Indian country only where the offense is (1) one committed by a member and (2) not within the jurisdiction of the courts of the State in which the offense is committed as provided in sections 1166 through 1169, or of the United States under section 1153.”.

(b) The analysis of chapter 53 of title 18, United States Code, is further amended by striking out “1152. Laws governing,” and inserting in lieu thereof “1152. Assimilative crimes in Indian country.”.

(c) Section 1153 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by striking out the term “Indian” the first place that term occurs and inserting in lieu thereof “member”, and by striking out “another Indian or other” and inserting in lieu thereof “any”.

(d) Section 1161 of title 18, United States Code, is amended to read as follows:

“§1161. Application of Indian liquor laws”

“The provisions of sections 1154, 1156, 3113, 3488, and 3618 shall not apply within any area that is not Indian country, nor to any act or transaction within any area of Indian country provided such act or transaction is in conformity both with the laws of the State in which such act or transaction occurs and with regulations promulgated by the Secretary of the Interior with the advice and consent of the governing body of the tribe which occupies the affected Indian country. Administration and enforcement of such regulations shall not be delegated to any Indian tribe.”.

STATE CRIMINAL JURISDICTION

Sec. 103. (a) Chapter 53 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new sections:

“§1166. Exclusive State jurisdiction over nonmembers

“Every State shall have exclusive criminal jurisdiction over all crimes committed in Indian country by persons not members of the tribe or tribes occupying said Indian country to the same extent that such State has jurisdiction over offenses committed elsewhere within the State, and the criminal laws of such State shall have the same force and effect against such persons within Indian country as they have elsewhere within the State.

“§1167. Additional exclusive State jurisdiction”

“Except where the offense is within exclusive Federal criminal jurisdiction under section 1153, every State shall have exclusive criminal jurisdiction over all crimes committed in Indian country by members of the tribe occupying said Indian country against those who are not members of the tribe occupying said Indian country, to the same extent that such State has jurisdiction over offenses committed elsewhere within the State, and the criminal laws of such State shall have the same force and effect against such members within Indian country as they have elsewhere within the State.

“§1168. Application of State traffic laws

“Every State shall have the same authority to enforce its motor vehicle traffic laws against all persons on patented land, rights-of-way, and easements running through Indian country held by the State and used for motor vehicle transportation as it has elsewhere in the State.

“§1169. Prior grants of State jurisdiction preserved”

“Nothing in sections 1166 and 1167 shall narrow the jurisdiction granted States pursuant to sections 1162 and 3243, the Act entitled ‘An Act to confer jurisdiction on the State of New York with respect to offenses committed on Indian reservations within such State’, approval July 2, 1948 (42 Stat

CONTINUED ON PAGE 24....

1224: 25 U.S.C. 232), or any other statute, treaty, or law which grants to the courts of a State criminal jurisdiction over offenses committed in Indian country by members of an Indian tribe."

(b) The analysis of chapter 53 of title 18, United States Code, is further amended by adding at the end thereof the following:

"1166. Exclusive State jurisdiction over nonmembers.

"1167. Additional exclusive State jurisdiction.

"1168. Application of State traffic laws.

"1169. Prior grants of State jurisdiction preserved."

TRIBAL CRIMINAL JURISDICTION

Sec. 104. (a) Chapter 53 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by adding after section 1169 (as added by section 103) the following new section:

"ss 1170. Tribal criminal jurisdiction"

"(a) Except for offenses over which there is exclusive Federal criminal jurisdiction pursuant to section 1153, and except for offenses against nonmembers, Indian tribes shall have criminal jurisdiction over all offenses committed in Indian country by members of the tribe.

"(b) No Indian tribe shall have criminal jurisdiction over nonmembers of the tribe.

"(c) Nothing in this section shall be construed to exempt members from the laws of the United States or, where expressly authorized by law, of the State in which the Indian country is located.

"(d) The jurisdiction granted Indian tribes by this section shall be concurrent with that granted to the United States under section 1152 where jurisdiction is otherwise granted to the United States by that section."

(b) The analysis of chapter 53 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following: "1170. Tribal criminal jurisdiction."

TITLE II - CIVIL LAW AND JURISDICTION

Definitions

Sec. 201. In this title, the term—

(1) "tribe" has the meaning given the term "Indian tribe" in section 201 (1) of the Act entitled "An Act to prescribe penalties for certain acts of violence or intimidation, and for other purposes", approved April 11, 1968 (82 Stat. 77; 25 U.S.C. 1301 (1)).

(2) "Indian" means (a) any individual of substantial Indian blood who is validly enrolled or recognized by an Indian tribe and the United States as a member of the tribe, and (b) any corporation or other entity formed or existing under the law of an Indian tribe if all its members, shareholders, and equity owners are validly enrolled in or recognized as members of the tribe under whose law the corporation or entity is formed or exists.

(3) "Indian country" means Indian country as defined by section 1151 of title 18, United States Code.

(4) "member" means any individual Indian whose domicile is within the boundaries of the Indian country of the tribe in which he is enrolled or recognized as a member and any Indian corporation or other entity which is formed or exists under the law of the tribe with respect to which reference is made, and

(5) "State" means any State of the United States and any political subdivision of a State; when reference is made to the laws of a State, the laws of political subdivisions of a State are included.

WAIVER OF TRIBAL IMMUNITY FROM SUIT

Sec. 202. Indian tribes shall be subject to suit in the courts of the United States or any State, where jurisdiction is otherwise proper.

CIVIL GOVERNMENTAL POWER OF STATES

Sec. 203. (a) Every State shall have the same civil governmental power, including judicial power, over all persons outside of Indian country as it has within its territory generally.

(b) Except as otherwise provided by this Act or other Federal law, States shall have no civil governmental power over persons, conduct, or property of Indian tribes or their members within their Indian country.

(c) Except as provided in paragraph (3), every state shall have the following powers within Indian country, as well as such other powers as may be allowed to the State under the Constitution, treaties, statutes, or other laws of the United States:

(1) (A) Except as provided in subparagraph (B), every State shall have the same civil governmental power, including judicial power, in Indian country, including land use, taxing, and other regulatory power, over the persons, conduct, and property, including interests in restricted or trust lands, of every person other than members within the Indian country of their tribe as that State has outside of Indian country, whether or not the exercise of such power by the State affects the self-government of the tribe.

(B) The State land use regulatory power granted under subparagraph (A) shall not authorize any State to prohibit a use of a nonmember's interest in restricted or trust lands where—

(i) such use was made of the nonmember's interest on the date of enactment of this Act, or

(ii) such use of the interest was made by a member before the interest was acquired by the non-member, unless (i) the use was changed by the member to a use not permitted by the appropriate State land use regulatory authority with knowledge or intent that such interest be transferred to a non-member and (II) such change of use was in fact financed by the nonmember regardless of the form of the financing transaction.

(2) Every State shall have civil governmental power, including judicial power, over the persons, conduct, and property of members and of Indian tribes in Indian country to the extent such power is necessary and incidental to the effective enforcement of State laws applicable therein.

(3) Nothing in this subsection shall authorize the alienation, lien of record, or taxation by a State of any interest of an Indian or Indian tribe in real or personal property, including water rights, which is held in trust by the United States or is subject to a restriction against alienation imposed by the United States; or shall authorize regulation by a State of the use of such interest by an Indian or Indian tribe in a manner inconsistent with any Federal treaty or statute or with any regulation made pursuant thereto concerning the use of such interest by an Indian tribe; or shall confer jurisdiction upon a State to adjudicate, in probate proceedings or otherwise, the ownership or right to possession of such property except under claim of a lease, easement, right-of-way, or grant of any nature made under Federal treaty or statute to any person or entity other than a member or a tribe.

STATE CIVIL JURISDICTION IN ACTIONS TO WHICH INDIANS ARE PARTIES

Sec. 204. (a) Except as provided in the succeeding sentence, every State shall have jurisdiction over civil causes of action arising in Indian country between or against members or Indian tribes to the same extent that such State has jurisdiction over other civil causes of action. Nothing in this section shall authorize the alienation, lien of record, or taxation by a State of any interest of an Indian or Indian tribe in real or personal property, including water rights, which is held in trust by the United States or is subject to a restriction against alienation imposed by the United States; or shall authorize regulation by a State of the use of such interest by an Indian or Indian tribe in a manner inconsistent with any Federal treaty or statute or with any regulation made pursuant thereto concerning the use of such interest by an Indian or tribe; or shall confer jurisdiction upon a State to adjudicate, in probate proceedings or otherwise, the ownership or right to possession of such property except under claim of a lease, easement, right-of-way, or grant of any nature made under Federal treaty or statute to any person or entity other than a member or a tribe.

(b) Except as provided in the succeeding sentence—

(1) in civil actions brought under this section, State rules of decision shall be applicable;

(2) notwithstanding section 203 (c) (3) and the second sentence of section 204(a), the public and private nuisance law of the State shall be applicable to the use, the users, and the owners, other than the United States, of restricted or trust land and any nonmember or user or owner of lands other than restricted or trust lands the use or ownership of which occasions the claim of nuisance, and the United States need not be joined in any such action; and

(3) any otherwise valid tribal ordinance or custom adopted by an Indian tribe in the exercise of any authority it may possess, if not inconsistent with any applicable civil law of the State, shall be given full force and effect in the determination of civil actions wholly arising within the Indian country of the tribe if (A) nonmembers of the tribe are not prejudiced thereby, (B) all parties to the claim are members of the tribe whose ordinance or custom is sought to be applied, and (C) the party who intends to raise the ordinance or custom gives notice in his pleadings or other reasonable written notice.



Nothing in this subsection shall authorize any civil action by or on behalf of a State or by any person claiming under a State against a member or an Indian tribe to assert a duty within the Indian country of the tribe, except under clause (2) of the preceding sentence, or under the laws of the State under which laws private persons generally are protected, or the laws of the United States, or the laws of the tribe.

CIVIL GOVERNMENTAL POWERS OF TRIBES

Sec. 205. (a) Every Indian tribe shall have civil governmental power over the conduct and property of its members to the extent that such property is located in or such conduct occurs in the Indian country of the tribe, and over the interest a former member no longer domiciled in the Indian country of the tribe may have in restricted or trust lands or in the communal property or funds of the tribe within the Indian country of the tribe, except as otherwise limited by Federal or tribal law.

(b) No Indian tribe shall have any civil governmental power over the persons, conduct, or property, including interests in restricted or trust lands, of any nonmember other than over the interest of a former member no longer domiciled in the Indian country of the tribe may have in restricted or trust lands or in the communal property or funds of the tribe within the Indian country of the tribe.

(c) No Indian tribe shall have any governmental power over its members in connection with their conduct or property outside the Indian country of the tribe.

(d) No Indian tribe shall have the power to exclude from the Indian country of the tribe or from any other place any State law enforcement officer or other State official executing the laws of the State otherwise applicable within the Indian country of the tribe if such officer or official is entitled to enter similar public and private places under the law of the State.

JURISDICTION OF INDIAN TRIBES

Sec. 206. (a) Indian tribes shall have such jurisdiction over civil actions as established by Federal statutes, treaties, or regulations or by the governing body of the tribe with the approval of the Secretary of the Interior except that:

(1) No Indian tribe shall have jurisdiction in any civil action over the person or property of any non-member other than over the interest a former member no longer domiciled in the Indian country of the tribe may have in restricted or trust lands or in the communal property or funds of the tribe within the Indian country of the tribe unless such nonmember shall expressly consent to such jurisdiction in writing after the cause of action upon which suit is brought has arisen.

(2) No Indian tribe shall have jurisdiction over any action against an employee, officer, or agent of the United States or of a State for any matter arising out of his performance, or non-performance of his official duties or for any matter in the course and scope of his employment by the United States or a State.

(b) The records and judicial proceedings of Indian tribes or copies thereof, authenticated in the manner provided in section 1738, title 28, United States Code, shall have the same full faith and credit in every court within the United States and its

territories and possessions as they have by law or usage of the Indian tribes from which they are taken, except that the subject matter and personal jurisdiction of the Indian tribe to entertain the proceedings shall be reexamined in any court in which the proceedings are sought to be enforced.

HUNTING, TRAPPING, AND FISHING

Sec. 207. (a) The regulation of hunting, trapping, or fishing and the removal of game, peltries, fish, or wildlife on lands other than those described as Indian lands in Section 1165, title 18, United States Code, including those places off the reservation where a tribe is entitled to hunt, trap, fish, or remove game, peltries, fish, or wildlife pursuant to treaty, shall be within the exclusive power of the State in which such lands exist, except to the extent that a statute of the United States grants exclusive or concurrent power to the United States, except that nothing herein shall authorize a State to impose upon members at those places off the reservation where a tribe is entitled to hunt, trap, fish, or remove game, peltries, fish, or wildlife pursuant to a treaty, any fish, game, or trapping license or permit fee. Regulation for conservation purposes or otherwise under this section must apply equally to all persons regulated without regard to their status as Indian or non-Indian except that nothing in this sentence shall apply to enlarge, restrict or confirm the rights of any Indian tribe under judgments final before the enactment of this Act.

(b) The regulation of hunting, trapping, or fishing and the removal of game, peltries, fish, or wildlife on lands described as Indian lands in section 1165 of title 18, United States Code, by members of the tribe occupying such lands shall be within the exclusive power of the tribe, except as provided in subsection (d) of this section and except to the extent that a statute of the United States grants exclusive or concurrent power to the United States or a State.

(c) Pursuant to section 1165 of title 18, United States Code, an Indian tribe may withhold from nonmembers of the tribe authority or permission to hunt, trap, or fish and remove game, peltries, fish, or wildlife on lands described in such section, or it may condition such authority or permission upon payment of a fee; but if it grants such authority or permission, the regulation of hunting, trapping, or fishing or the removal of game, peltries, fish, or wildlife on such Indian lands by nonmembers of the tribe shall be within the exclusive power of the State in which the lands exist, except to the extent that a statute of the United States grants exclusive or concurrent power to the United States.

(d) Notwithstanding subsection (b), the State in which Indian lands described in section 1165 of title 18, United States Code, are located shall have the power to regulate or prohibit hunting, trapping, or fishing or the removal of game, peltries, fish, or wildlife on such lands by any person to the extent necessary to preserve any species of wildlife or fish or to insure that the opportunity of all persons to hunt, fish, or trap outside such lands are not seriously and substantially infringed.

TITLE III - MISCELLANEOUS AND CONFORMING PROVISIONS

EFFECT ON STATE LAW

Sec. 301. (a) Any provision of any State enabling act which is inconsistent with any provision of this Act is hereby repealed.

(b) Each State shall have the powers granted to that State under this Act notwithstanding any inconsistent provision of State law. If, notwithstanding the application of the preceding sentence, any State is precluded by any provision of the constitution of that State from exercising any of the powers granted to that State under this Act, the consent of the United States is hereby given to the repeal of such State constitutional provision in any manner authorized under the law of that State.

CONFORMING PROVISIONS

Sec. 302. (a) Section 1360 of title 28, United States Code, is hereby repealed.

(b) Nothing in this Act shall limit the powers or the jurisdiction granted to the State of New York under the Act entitled "An Act to confer jurisdiction on the courts of the State of New York with respect to civil actions between Indians or to which Indians are parties", approved September 13, 1950 (64 Stat. 845; 25 U.S.C. 233), and nothing in such Act shall limit the powers or jurisdiction granted the State of New York under this Act.

(c) (1) Section 401 (b) of the Act entitled "An Act to provide penalties for certain acts of violence or intimidation, and for other purposes", approved April 11, 1968, (82 Stat. 78; 25 U.S.C. 1321 (b)) is amended to read as follows:

"(b) Nothing in this section shall authorize the alienation, lien of record, or taxation by a State of any interest of an Indian or Indian tribe in real or personal property, including water rights, which is held in trust by the United States or is subject to a restriction against alienation imposed by the United States; or shall authorize regulation by a State of the use of such interest by an Indian or Indian tribe in a manner inconsistent with any Federal treaty or statute or with any regulation made pursuant thereto concerning the use of such interest by an Indian or tribe; or shall confer jurisdiction upon a State to adjudicate, in probate proceedings or otherwise, the ownership or right to possession of such property except under claim of a lease, easement, right-of-way, or grant of any nature made under Federal treaty or statute to any person or entity other than a member or a tribe."

(2) Section 402 (25 U.S.C. 1322) of such Act is hereby repealed.

(3) Section 403 (a) (25 U.S.C. 1323(a)) of such Act is amended by striking out "or civil", by striking out "or both," and by striking out "section 1360 of title 28 of the United States Code."

(4) Section 404 (25 U.S.C. 1324) of such Act is hereby repealed.

(5) Section 406 (25 U.S.C. 1326) of such Act is amended by striking out "with respect to criminal offenses or civil causes of action, or with respect to both."

ABATEMENT OF ACTIONS

Sec. 303. Sec. 303. The provisions of this Act shall not deprive any court of the United States of jurisdiction to hear, determine, render judgment, or impose sentence in any criminal action instituted against any person for any offense committed before the date of the enactment of this Act, if the offense charged in such action was cognizable under any law of the United States at the time of the commission of such offense. For the purposes of any such criminal action, the provisions of this Act shall take effect on the day following the date of final determination of such action.

VENTURA UPDATE -

Amnesty International, which won the 1977 Nobel Peace Prize for its work in the area of political prisoners, has selected the Mohawk/Skyhorse case as one of several it will investigate. Amnesty International, a private, world-wide organization based in London, England, works for the release of prisoners who have been jailed for their beliefs or their origins.

The organization has written California Governor Edmund Brown Jr. requesting an investigation of the case which has set records for pre-trial hearing time, and has resulted in the three-year incarceration of Skyhorse and Mohawk. News releases report that the case was selected because of allegations made by Mohawk and Skyhorse charging that they were beaten while lodged in the Ventura County Jail. The two American Indian Movement leaders are charged in the 1974 slaying of Ventura County cab driver George Aird in one of the most politically charged cases of the century. Mohawk and Skyhorse had previously received the support of the National Council of Churches.

The Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department requested a hearing in late September to suspend the defendants' *pro per* (right of self representation in court) privileges based on allegations that the two men had been involved in an altercation which took place in the jail on Sept. 27, 1977. Skyhorse was accused of leading the other inmates in a battle against the guards.

Testimony at subsequent *pro per* hearings have shed some light on the atmosphere endured by Mohawk and Skyhorse in the Los Angeles County Jail. Michael Cowens testified on Monday, October 17. Cowens is the inmate accused of having taken extra cornflakes the morning of September 27. He said that he had brought a box of cereal saved from the previous day with him to breakfast. After being accused of stealing, he was forced to give both boxes of cereal to Deputy Strain. Cowens said several inmates gave him their cereal in order to avoid any trouble. He said this was in line with their program set up to settle problems within the jail. He testified that he went into a bathroom to wash his hands and there he was assaulted by Deputy Gray. He said he saw officers assault inmates Skyhorse, Mohawk, Jackie Wilson, and Ricky Carpenter also. He said he did not strike any deputy and did not see Skyhorse or Mohawk assault any of the officers.

Inmates Lester Williams, Kurt Ehle, Hershell Banks, and Jerry Snyder also testified. Their testimony was consistent with Cowen's and the other inmates who testified previously - basically that an officer assaulted Cowans, an altercation ensued, and that it was the deputies who were striking the inmates.

All testified that they saw Skyhorse and Mohawk assaulted by deputies, but did NOT see either Skyhorse or Mohawk hit anyone. All saw Mohawk pulled by the hair and Skyhorse pushed back and forth between some deputies and then hit in the stomach. They all testified that the deputies were verbally abusive and used racial slurs during the incident.

Defense attorney Franklin Glen took the stand on October 18. He stated that after visiting Skyhorse in the attorney room at the jail, he saw a deputy put handcuffs on him "as tight as possible" and then twist the handcuffs vigorously as he forced Skyhorse out of the room. Glen said he did not make a complaint to Lt. Parsons because from past experience he's found it to be "fruitless" to complain to any deputies.

Marvin Stender, attorney for Cowans, also testified about the incident in the attorney room. He was there to see his client, Cowans, and witnessed the handcuffs being put on Paul Skyhorse. He said he saw Skyhorse wince when the handcuffs were put on. Then, the deputy led him by the chain between the handcuffs, forcing his arms behind his back so that Skyhorse had to walk on his toes to try to alleviate the pressure. He said Skyhorse was not hostile or resisting when the deputy did that to him.

Despite all testimony, Judge Floyd Dodson handed down a ruling on November 7 that would have suspended Paul Skyhorse and Richard Mohawk's *pro per* rights, the suspension of rights to go into effect on November 28. The California State Supreme Court stayed Judge Dodson's order late Monday, November 28, moments before their right to act as their own counsel was to be revoked. The State Supreme Court action was the result of an appeal.

Meanwhile, testimony at the murder trial of the two American Indian Movement leaders continued. Amy Broken Leg, who was present the night of the slaying of George Aird, stated that she knows that Skyhorse and

Mohawk are innocent, and reviewed the events of that evening. She said (again) that both defendants were in the upstairs area when she went to the office downstairs, and both were still upstairs when she returned after seeing the cab driver in the office with Marvin Redshirt.

Asked why she hadn't told the prosecution this during an interview in October, 1974, she said, "Your office has a way of turning people's words around..." and that "our people have had so many dealings with pigs - there's no way we can trust you guys." She also said she had not been concerned with either Skyhorse or Mohawk then, but "I was more concerned with getting Marcy (Eagle Staff) out of there." District Attorney Samonsky then questioned her extensively about why she thinks that Marcy Eagle Staff stopped testifying on October 3. After several repeated questions, Amy said it was possibly because of something Marcy had told her when they were in South Dakota. Upset and crying at this point, Amy said Marcy had asked her, "what would you do if I told you I helped stab that cab driver?" Eagle Staff has been in jail since her refusal to continue testifying on October 3.

James Vaughn, husband of Marcella Eagle Staff, took the stand on November 14. He testified that he had urged Marcy not to testify because of his beliefs about the court and because he felt her testimony was being tainted - that "she was under - being coached or under control or manipulated by the prosecution, yourself (Samonsky) and Harvey Taylor."

Vaughn testified that his experience in the court had underscored his feelings about the American judicial system. Characterizing the present system as "outrageous oppression, outrageous brutality," Vaughn stated, "under this present system there is no fairness... These courtrooms are used to oppress people and throw people in jail and to brutalize them, put them in prison, places where nobody belongs."

Vaughn went on to say, "It seems to me like the prosecutor, you know every time he says something, it seems to me like the judge is coinciding with what he's saying, and he's looking to him... Everytime he asks me a question that seems dubious to him, he looks to him (Dodson) like a father figure to figure out whether he's going to get the okay or something, and it seems to me like he's supposed to be impartial."

On November 21, the defense was prepared to argue

over calling Robert Granger as a witness before the jury. Granger, a prosecution witness, had testified at a hearing that while an inmate at L.A. County Jail earlier this year, he had been forced into oral sex by the defendants. He told the prosecution this story, then later told the defense that he and two other inmates had made the whole thing up, and then changed his story again before testifying. Samonsky had planned to have him testify before the jury about the alleged incident, but after reviewing the letters, and a letter Granger wrote to Samonsky, Judge Dodson suggested that Samonsky might want to reconsider calling Granger as a witness, which he did.

Amy Broken Leg testified on November 16 that on the night of Aird's death she saw Marvin Redshirt standing by the cab driver, who was seated in a chair and had a bloodied face. She stated that neither defendant was in the area. She further stated that earlier statements she made to police about Marvin Redshirt - that he couldn't have done it, "He's not a violent guy..." were because she was trying to protect him. She testified Thursday, November 17, "He (Redshirt) could have." At the time of the previous statements she was "still hung up" on Redshirt. She said she had had a romance with Redshirt June - August, 1974, but their involvement ended when he and Holly Broussard had gone to South Dakota.

Supporters continue to fill the courtroom as the trial enters its eighth month. Since the trial began June 1, supporters from many schools, the Delancey St. Foundation in San Francisco, Peoples College of Law, the American Indian Movement, Community Service Organization in East Los Angeles, and several chapters of the California Campaign for Economic Democracy, as well as representatives of Amnesty International have attended regularly.

The Mohawk/Skyhorse Defense committee has speakers available to give presentations to schools, clubs, and concerned groups. Among the speakers available are Jack Shwartz - defense attorney, and Ernie Peters, AIM spiritual leader. Also, donations to the Skyhorse/Mohawk Defense can now be tax deductible - send your donation made out to the ACLU Foundation, with a notation to the Mohawk/Skyhorse Defense, to:

SKYHORSE MOHAWK DEFENSE COMMITTEE
LEGAL OFFICE
633 So. Shatto Pl. Room 209
Los Angeles, California 90005

HOW IT IS WITH US - - CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2....

In 1973, the Lakota People at Pine Ridge could no longer tolerate the conditions they lived under. With the help of AIM, they tried to bring about a demonstration against the bureaucracies which controlled their lives. The United States responded with a military action which is still reverberating throughout Indian country.

In 1974, the Lakota Treaty Council sponsored the first International Treaty Conference at the Standing Rock reservation. Delegates from 95 different Native nations attended this historic meeting. At this conference, it was agreed that if Native people were to find justice they would have to carry their struggle to the international community. It was agreed to start an organization called the International Indian Treaty Council, and this organization's function would be to aid our people in gaining international recognition.

In June of 1976, the work towards Geneva began in earnest. Jimmy Durham, Executive Director of the Treaty Council, had been attending meetings of the Non-Governmental Organizations of the United Nations. Some of the NGOs wanted to know what they could do to aid the Native struggle. Durham responded by asking them to sponsor a conference at which Native people could gather to address the world. The NGOs agreed, and set a date of September, 1977.

In December, 1976, Mr. Durham asked the Institute for the Development of Indian Law for assistance in organizing the conference. The Institute agreed, and Mike Myers was hired to act as coordinator for a Geneva Planning Committee. Almost all of 1977 was spent trying to raise moneys, identifying people who could contribute, compiling documentation, and developing position papers. In June, an International Indian Treaty Conference was again held at Standing Rock. At this conference the overall work going on in North America began to come together. Several delegates were chosen to represent this conference, in addition to the delegates from the Native national councils.

In July, organizers of the Geneva conference attended a conference of Central and South American Native peoples in Barbados. This conference marked the first step toward realization of a hemispheric representation which is truly representative of the direction of the Native struggle.

In August, Native delegates from Canada met to solidify their positions. In all of these meetings, it has been the traditions, the spiritual beliefs, the ancient

sense of what is really meant by "sovereignty" that has come forth throughout the hemisphere. The message that would be delivered in Geneva was becoming clear.

At the same time, native forces that are loyal to Canada or the U.S. were at work trying to disrupt the conference. The World Council of Indigenous Peoples' executive officers were among these. They seemed to continuously try to find ways to discredit the conference and its organizers. People who are viewed by the Canadian or U.S. governments as native leaders found ways to discourage the organization of the conference.

Finally, the days of the conference arrived, the delegations came together. Then another strange occurrence happened - when the delegates arrived in Geneva they learned that Jimmy Durham had gone back to the U.S.. The delegations were, at first, puzzled. He left a message behind saying that he felt that he had done all the work he could, and that it was now up to the delegates to finish the job. In retrospect, it seems to be a proper position. The Treaty Council had been established as a vehicle towards an end. As an organization, it has no history, no tradition or way of life - it exists only as a tool of the Native nations. The reality of the moment had come to life; the organization opened the door, but the real work has to be carried on by the nations. People within the movement have always known that the true leadership, the ideas and strategies which move things forward, comes from the communities, the elders, the traditions, and the spiritual ways. The organizations act as the executors, the eyes and ears, the warriors, of that movement. But the heart of lies within the nations.

In 1977, we saw the Native peoples' third attempt to get the world's attention. During the conference, four of the world's nations voiced their support of the Native struggle. The Hopi delegate was elder David Monongye, and he has begun to see the circle rejoin. We hope that he will live long enough to see the future he has struggled for.

And AKWESASNE NOTES, however peripherally, has been a part of all that, as have Native people all over this hemisphere. And we will continue to be a part of it, to bring to our readers information about the way things are going. That's how it is with us. And we hope that you are a part of it all, too, wherever you are, whoever you are - that we are all part of a struggle which works toward a better future for the people of this Earth.

CAYUGA INDIAN SCHOOL STARTS

A minor revolution of sorts is beginning to take place at the Six Nations Reserve on the Grand River in Ontario, Canada. This reserve is the largest of all the Six Nations territories. It is comprised of 45,000 acres and has nearly 14,000 citizens. People from all of the Six Nations reside on these lands which were established in the late 1700s.

Since 1924, the territory has been under the control of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. In that year, the Canadian government forcibly occupied the lands and established an "elective" system of government. During the past 53 years there has been a continuous struggle for the return of the people's own government. DIA control on the territory has invaded every aspect of life. Welfare, housing, highways, and of course, education, are all controlled by the DIA. It is in the area of education that the new resistance has occurred.

Like many Native people, the Cayuga people have been becoming more and more concerned about what is happening to their children in the non-Indian school systems. The strongest area of concern is the area of language. This summer they decided to press for more emphasis on the Cayuga language in the Canadian schools their children attended. The Canadian response was to per-

form the bureaucratic shuffle. Canadian officials came and went. It soon became apparent that Canada was not going to respond, and the parents decided to start their own school.

In September, 36 Cayuga children were removed from the Canadian schools. The parents converted a grocery store into a school building. Eight of the mothers are teaching on a voluntary basis, with other community members helping where they can. It is not a romantic or an idealistic move, but one seen in terms of the survival of the Six Nations Way of Life. Everyone knows they are up against some hard realities, but see no other way if they want a better life for their children.

Since the school has just begun, its needs are great. A blackboard, art supplies, tape recorders, paper, pencils, etc. are all needed. This Spring the school wants to undertake a Maple sugar project but they need the necessary equipment. In the next issue of NOTES we will be carrying a more detailed article about this school.

In the meantime, we urge our readers to help this school in whatever way they can. Your help can be sent to:

Cayuga Language and Culture School
c/o Clara Powless
RR No. 2
Ohsweken, Ontario, Canada

ANGEL OF DEATH

Dr. Josef Mengele, who was given the title of Nazi Germany's "Angel of Death" because he decided who went to the gas chambers, is reported to be participating in similar crimes in Paraguay. Time magazine reported that Mengele has been in Paraguay at least since 1959 and is engaged in efforts to hunt down Ache Indians in the remote Chaco region. Captured Aches are forced into slave labor, their children sold as curiosities and servants. Mengele was well-known at Auschwitz as the man who decided who would die immediately and who would be kept alive for medical experiments and for labor.

INVADERS REPELLED

QUITO, Ecuador (UPI) — Twenty poison-tipped spears were found imbedded in the bodies of three oil prospectors in the western jungles of Ecuador. A party of five oil prospectors had disregarded a crossed-spears sign from the Aucas not to go any deeper into their territory.

Indian experts in Ecuador maintain the Aucas are basically peaceful and attack only to repel what they consider invasions of their territory. For thousands of years, they managed to avoid most contact with the outside, but evidence of vast oil deposits beneath the Ecuadorian jungles have sent hundreds of explorers into the region.

LATEST VICTIMS OF CORPORATE GREED — NATIVE BABIES

The ability of human beings to pretend no responsibility for their actions is reaching another incredible dimension. Headed by Nestles, multi-national corporations are expanding the baby formula market into poor communities worldwide. The result: death and deformity of thousands of infants.

Here's one of their methods: Saleswomen, who are dressed in starched white uniforms and come to be known as "milk nurses" visit new mothers promoting the value of bottle feeding. They often leave samples or make home deliveries.

They fail to mention that use of these products require plenty of good water, mechanisms for sterilizing bottles, washing hands, refrigeration and money. But the "nurses" (who usually aren't nurses,) see to it that the women don't understand. The women try the product. The breast milk — a superior food for babies — stops flowing, leaving them without a sufficient replacement to adequately nourish their babies.

"Milk nurses" have a great influence on mothers because they are identified as hospital or clinic staff. The expense of infant formula to poor families is extraordinary. Many mothers dilute the powder to save money not realizing the weakened formula will not sustain life. One report states that in Tanzania it costs half the minimum wage to feed a six-month old with formula.

Malnutrition is now prevalent in the early months of life. It used to be unusual before weaning, usually showing up in two-year olds and older, an indication of the sufficiency of breast milk even in poor communities. The earlier it happens, the more serious the brain damage and possibility of death.

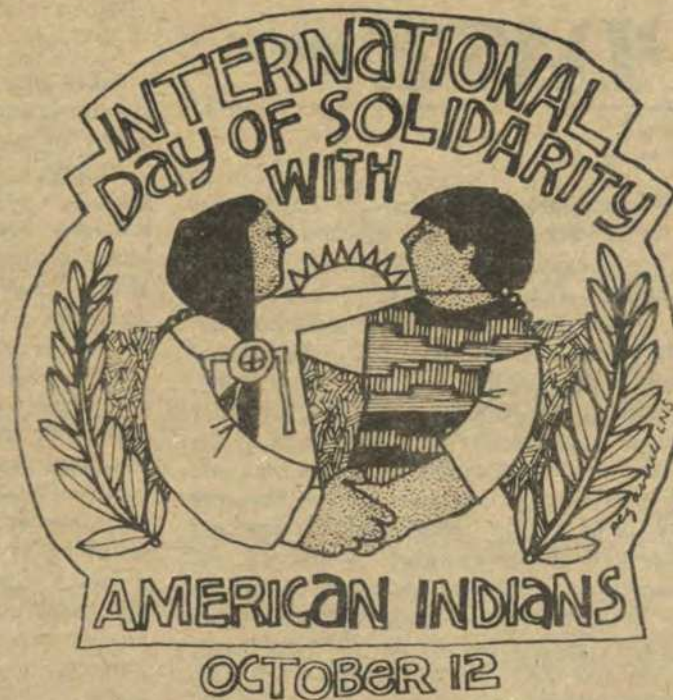
Where it is happening: "Baby-bottle disease" has been

reported in Kenya, Pakistan, India, Chile, Tanzania, Jamaica, Barbados, in the U.S. on Indian Reservations and in farmworkers' camps. This is only a partial list!

A boycott of Nestles' products is being encouraged by the Infant Formula Action Coalition (INFAC) of San Francisco. So far the "Swiss Giant" (Nestles) has refused to enter into serious negotiations. The purpose may be profit. The result, like sterilization of women, is simply another form of genocide.



"The Greed & Gunk Oil Corp. board of directors meeting stands adjourned. The Cave-In Coal Co. board of directors will please come to order."



October 12, Columbus Day, has been declared "International Day of Solidarity With American Indians." The declaration was unanimously made at a late September United Nations-sponsored conference in Geneva of North and South American Indians from 15 countries. The Day of Solidarity will be an annual event.

WOMEN AGAINST STERILIZATION

Los Angeles — The sterilization of American Indians in Indian Health Service facilities with allegedly less than fully informed consent is coming under renewed attack by Indian groups and government investigators. Some flatly call it "genocide."

Fully 20 percent of the already decimated population of Native American women of childbearing age have been sterilized in the 51 IHS hospitals, mostly in the western United States, according to estimates.

Dr. Constance Uri, a Choctaw-Cherokee physician, now a full time law student and leader of the group "Indian Women United for Social Justice," accuses the government and the IHS of attempting to solve the "Indian Problem" once and for all with a massive campaign of sterilization.

"I believe the U.S. government is practicing genocide on the Indian people," she told the Medical Tribune. Dr. Uri estimates that at least 25,000 Indian women have been permanently sterilized in the IHS facilities.

Perhaps the most startling example of abuse among the 51 hospitals has taken

place at the Claremore Oklahoma Hospital. Records for 1973 reveal that 194 sterilizations were performed that year on Indians, one out of every four admitted to this 58-bed hospital. Furthermore, four tubal ligations were performed on women under 20 years old and 13 hysterectomies were performed on women under 30, including one on a 22-year-old. And it was at Claremore that a doctor averred that Indian tissue was medically different from his own.

Concludes Dr. Uri: "As the Cheyenne will tell you, the strength of the Indian nation is in their women. No matter how straight your arrows, no matter how brave your warriors, no nation is defeated until the hearts of the women are on the ground. When the women give up you are in trouble."

Indian women who believe they have been sterilized without being fully informed, or with coercion or other problems, can contact Dr. Uri and Indian Women United For Social Justice, P.O. Box 38743, Los Angeles, Ca. 90038.

From Nishnawbe News

Nestles boycott information:

Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility
475 Riverside Dr.
New York, N.Y. 10027

These folks are distributing a film on Infant Formula Disease:

Tricontental Films
333 Sixth Ave.
New York, N.Y. 10014

These folks are selling buttons:

Infant Formula Action Committee
Newman Center
University of Minnesota
1701 University Ave, S.E.
Minneapolis, Minn. 55414

Write to Nestles yourself, tell them you support the boycott:

Nestles
100 Bloomington Rd.
White Plains, N.Y. 10605

Boycott these products:

Nestles milk flavorings, candy, baking chips
Libby's Products
Taster's Choice, Nescafe, Decaf, Nestea
Stouffer's Products
Crosse & Blackwell products
Karlsberg Cheeses

SENECA NATION OFFICIALS

Allegations of misuse of federal funds to influence Seneca Nation elections have been levelled against Seneca Nation President Calvin Lay and treasurer Robert Hoag. Both men have denied the allegations, which have led to federal grand jury hearings held in Buffalo, New York. The allegations first became public in January, 1977.

Bradley Redeye, a former Seneca Nation employee, has charged that Hoag and Lay were parties to a kickback scheme by which moneys were drawn from federal funds to finance parties and to pay for drinks for the purpose of influencing voters of the Cattaraugus and Allegany Reservations in upstate New York. Redeye charged:

"...money collected from employees was to be put aside until election day, Nov. 2, 1976. We started making out vouchers - mileage, expense account - labelled as special patrol, game warden patrol, putting up posters (no hunting.) These were turned in sometimes three

UNDER INVESTIGATION

times a week. Sometimes that total each time would reach \$800.00. ...The last one was to help pay for election party on the eve of election, Nov. 2, 1976.

"With these checks I would pay people who wanted to sell their votes before election. Also for expense for other people. For example, Betty Wolfgang, Erie, Pa., \$200 for getting other voters lined up for dinners or luncheons, etc. Also, this money was used on pre-election parties, paying for bands & food, - beer, etc. Also for buying at bars for treats from Peoples' Party."

Redeye's statement goes on to state that he was one of a number of people who was involved in the scheme. "During the period Oct. 11 - Nov. 4 I was given over \$16,000.... Robert Hoag signed all vouchers for this money." Hoag, who was president at the time of the election, was elected treasurer. Lay, who was treasurer at the time, was elected president.

"No state, no person, can purchase your lands, unless at some public treaty held under the authority of the United States. The General Government will never consent to your being defrauded, but it will protect you in all your just rights. But your great object seems to be the security of your remaining lands, and I have therefore upon this point meant to be sufficiently strong and clear that, in future, you cannot be defrauded of your lands, that you possess the right to sell your lands; and that, therefore, the sale of your lands, in future, will

depend entirely upon yourselves. But that, when you find it for your interest to sell any part of your lands, the United States must be present, by their agent, and will be your security that you shall not be defrauded in the bargain you make. That, besides the before mentioned security for your land, you will perceive, by the Law of Congress for regulating trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes, the fatherly care the United States intends to take of the Indians."

.....George Washington addresses the Seneca Nation

WAMPANOAG SETTLEMENT DENIED

A bill which would have paid the Wampanoag Indians of Massachusetts \$4 million to withdraw their claims to Cape Cod real estate has died in committee in the Senate. The Wampanoags had allegedly accepted the proposal, but the town of Mashpee rejected it pending court action which focuses on the question of whether the Wampanoags con-

stitute a "tribe," and are eligible to invoke the 1790 Non-intercourse Act. A U.S. Dept. of Interior newsletter reported: "An anthropologist, testifying for the Indians, cited their reverence for the earth and harmony with nature. The judge, noting that most of the Indians belonged to the local Baptist Church, asked the anthropologist what the difference was between a Mashpee Indian Baptist and a Sierra Club Baptist. The reply was that the Indians 'were here before the Sierra club'."

CROW LANDS TO BE MINED

Secretary of Interior Andrus has approved a plan by Westmoreland Resources to strip-mine 2,000 acres of Crow land in south central Montana. The area to be mined under the plan is part of a 1.1 million acre area taken by the U.S. Government under a 1904 Act of Congress.

Westmoreland Resources stated that it plans to offer the surface lands for purchase to the Crow Tribe following the mining and reclaiming processes, although the reclaimed land is not expected to be suitable for agriculture or grazing for seven or more years after mining.

POWER PLANTS SUE TO PREVENT TAXATION

The Salt River Project power generating plant near Page, and the Arizona Public Service which operates the Four Corners Plant near Farmington, N.M., are planning to file suit in federal court seeking an injunction against the Navajo Tribe to halt a fee imposed on sulfur emissions. The companies state that the fee is a tax which violates provisions of their contracts with the tribe which guarantee immunity from taxes. At the current level of emissions, the plant would have to pay a combined fee of \$20 million, which is 10 cents per pound for every pound over 100 pounds. The Navajo position has been that the fee is for a permit, and is not a tax.

The first astronauts to orbit the earth reported that the 70-mile plume of smoke from the Four Corners areas was the only man-made object discernable from space.

STOCK REDUCTION PROGRAM IMPOVERISHES NAVAJOS

Some 3500 Navajos have been ordered removed from lands which have been partitioned to the Hopi Tribal Council (IRA govt.) by a federal judge in February, 1977. The decision was the result of a federal 1974 Navajo Land Settlement Act which pitted Hopi interests against Navajo interests in the national media and which is resulting in the removal of the Navajos. The result of the court action is that the Bureau of Indian Affairs has carried out a forced stock reduction program, removing Navajo livestock from the former Joint Use Area, and leaving Navajo people there without a livelihood.

Hopi traditionalist Thomas Banyaca and Navajo Tribal Judge Chester Yellowhair advised the Navajo-Hopi Unity Committee to request reservation hearings on a proposed bill by Senator Dennis DeConcini which would delay the removal of the Navajos. The resolution asking for reservation hearings was passed unanimously by the committee. The removal is scheduled to begin in early 1979 and to be completed by 1985.

HAROLD CARDINAL HAS PROBLEMS

THE NATIVE PEOPLE reported Nov. 18, 1977, that the Indian Association of Alberta is seeking Harold Cardinal's resignation as director general of the regional Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (Canada.) This followed a meeting of the IAA board in Morley at which "considerable concern" was expressed over Mr. Cardinal's credibility.

Cardinal has filed a \$110,000 lawsuit against three parties: THE EDMONTON

JOURNAL, the CALGARY HAROLD,

and MP Robert Brissco of Fort Nelson, B.C., charging defamation of character. The lawsuit rises out of statements made by Brissco involving a proposed \$175,000 from the DIA while Cardinal was president of the Indian Association of Alberta. Brissco charged that the proposed loan was an act of nepotism and constituted and misappropriation of government funding. Cardinal's response has been that although the loan was approved, his father never actually received the money to expand the ranch at Sucker Creek reserve.

CORRECTION

The July 1977 issue of AKWESASNE NOTES contains an error on page 12, middle column ("Ventura Update - July - 1977") which states "Both the prosecution and the defense had come to an agreement whereby the defendants would plead guilty to a reduced charge and be sentenced to time served, and released." The sentence should have read that the defendants "would plead *nolo contendere*" or no contest, a plea which is often used in the plea bargaining process where both prosecution and the defense are seeking to end the proceedings. This is especially true in cases where the result is a sentence to time served and results in the release of the accused from custody. Therefore the statement "would plead guilty" is an error which also adds an entirely inaccurate light to the proceeding.

A FEELING OF IMPENDING DOOM

HOMER, Alaska - Nineteen oil companies have installed the world's largest floating rig to drill test holes deep under the waters of Cook Inlet. Cook Inlet, which is more than twice the size of Chesapeake Bay, is one of the most productive fisheries left in the world, a major source of Alaska King Crab.

The Interior Dept. is expected to offer the oil giants 850,000 acres underneath the bay in an area which could produce up to 2.6 billion barrels of oil and 3.3 trillion cubic feet of gas over the next few decades. The activity could also result in oil spills which ruin forever the fishing of the bay, source of livelihood for the village of 75 Indians at English Bay. The onshore industrialization accompanying the drilling is expected to result in "cultural extinction" of the Native people there. Environmentalists point out the an oil spill in the bay would be many times more disastrous than a similar occurrence in the open seas.

BIGFOOT SIGHTINGS REPORTED ON STANDING ROCK

Residents of the hamlet of Little Eagle on the Standing Rock (S.D.) Reservation have reported sightings of Bigfoot.

"I couldn't stand its running around shrieking all night," the Rev. Angus Long Elk said of the coyote-like screaming noise attributed to the creature. "It was doing it all the time," he said. "And about two weeks ago my wife saw it at night while she was down the river. She's been afraid ever since and wanted to leave."

NEW WORLD COMING

Truth is Stranger than History Books by Medicine Story



DECLARATION OF BARBADOS II

In America, as Indians, we are subjected to a two-faced domination: physical domination and cultural domination.

Physical domination reveals itself primarily in the rape of the land. This rape started with the outset of the European invasion and continues today. Along with the land, our natural resources have been destroyed: the forests, the waters, the minerals, the oil. The land that is left to us has been divided through internal and international borders. Our people have been isolated and divided, and there have been attempts to create confrontations among our peoples.

The physical domination is also an economic domination. We are exploited when we work for the non-Indians who pay us less than what our work produced. We are also exploited in trade, because we are paid poorly for what we produce (the harvests, the arts and crafts, etc.) and what is sold to us is very expensive. This domination is not only local or national, but international. The huge transnational corporations are seeking the land, the resources, the labor force, as well as our produce, and they rely on the powerful and privileged of the non-Indian society to carry this out. The physical domination relies on force and violence that are used against our peoples.

Cultural domination can be considered complete when Western culture, or the culture of the oppressor, has been instilled into the mind of the Indian, as the only One; and promoted as the highest level of development. Whereas, our very own culture is not really a culture, but only a stage - a low stage of backwardness which must be "overcome." The result of this is the division of the individuals that make up our people, primarily through the systems of education. Cultural domination does not allow the expression of our culture, or disinterprets it, and degenerates its expressions.

Cultural domination is carried out through:

Indian Policy - which includes the process of intergration or deculturalization through the various national and international institutions, religious missionaries, etc.

The Official Education System - which basically teaches White supremacy, and the make-believe inferiority of ourselves, thus preparing us to be more easily exploited.

Mass Communication Media - which serve as the mediums for the dissemination of the most important methods of disinterpreting the resistance that Indian peoples have put forth against cultural domination.

As a result of this overall state of domination our people are divided because we live under three different conditions. 1) The groups that have remained relatively isolated and have preserved their own cultural modes. 2) Groups that preserve a great part of their culture, but are directly oppressed by the Capitalist system of economic dependency. 3) That sector of the population that has been de-Indianized through the forces of integration and have lost their cultural modes in exchange for limited economic advantages.

For the first ones the immediate problem is to survive as a group. For this, it is necessary that their land areas be guaranteed. The second group is physically and economically oppressed, and before anything else they need to regain control of their resources. The last group has as an immediate task, the liberation of itself from cultural domination to which it is subject, and to rescue its very being, its own culture.

In conclusion, the problem of our people is summarized as follows:

1) A situation of cultural and physical oppression which ranges from subjugation on the part of a small White, or Criollo (mixed-blood) minority, to the danger of extinction in countries where Indians constitute a low percentage of the population.

2) The Indo-American people are divided internally because of the actions of: policies of integration, education, developmentalism, Western religious systems, the system of economic categories, and the borders of national states.

In light of the situation of our people today, and with the purpose of drawing the first line of guidance for their struggle towards liberation, the following great objective is put forth: To reach a unity amongst the Indian population considering that in order to reach this unity the basic element is a historical and territorial placement of our relationship with the social structures and the regimes of the national states - and to identify what extent our participation with these structures is total or limited. Thus, through this unity -

recapture the historical process and attempt to bring to an end this chapter of colonization. In order to reach this objective, the following strategies are set forth:

A. We need our own genuine political organization that gives itself to the cause of a movement for liberation.

B. We need a clear and consistent ideology that can be grasped by the whole population.

C. A method of work is necessary - that could be used in order to mobilize a great number of the population.

D. An element of convergence is necessary, that would persist from the onset to the end of the liberation process.

E. It is necessary to maintain and reinforce the means of internal communication, our languages, and at the same time to create a means of communication amongst the peoples of different languages, while also maintaining basic cultural structures, especially those related with the groups own education.

F. It is necessary to take into account and define on the local level the support forces that can exist on an international level.

The elements that can be utilized in order to carry out the above named strategies are, among others, the following:

A. As for the political organization, it can begin through traditional organization as well as from a new modern type organization.

B. The ideology must be formulated from a stand point of historical analysis.

C. The method of work can begin through the study of history in order to identify and explain the situation of oppression.

D. The element of convergence must be the very culture itself, basically in order to create the consciousness of belonging to an ethnic group, and the Indo-american people.

Barbados, July 28, 1977

MAPUCHES CONTINUE THEIR STRUGGLE

"Kila pataka tripantu kuyfingekefuy in, inchin tain mapu. Tifa nituñin, Lakonain kay."

["Three hundred years ago this land was ours. Now we are going to take it back, and we are prepared to die."]

— Mapuche song about re-occupying land in Chile in July, 1970

Today, under the Pinochet regime, the Mapuche are crowded on their land. The average reservation has about 130 persons, which means about 2 acres per person. When the reservations were first introduced in the late 1800's, there was more land - about ten acres per person. The Mapuche population has remained about the same from the late 1800s until now - what has happened is that white Chileans have systematically stolen land from the reservations.

The Mapuches have a long history of struggle to keep the land. First the Incas invaded from the North in the 1400s. They built stone roads down the long coast of Chile. They brought their well organized armies to colonize Chile and collect tribute from its inhabitants, but the Mapuche fought them off. Hidden deep in the densely forested hills of southern Chile, in an area which has an extremely high rainfall in the winter, the Mapuches used their knowledge of the terrain to hold off the invaders.

After the Incas came the Spaniards. They invaded Chile in the mid-1500s, coming down the same roads the Incas had left. The Spaniards were looking for gold. They brought horses, swords and guns, weapons which were never known in Chile and which were superior to native arms.



The Spaniards were successful in defeating the native populations in northern and central Chile, inhabited by nations related to the Mapuche, but who spoke a different dialect. When the Spaniards reached the south, however, the area known then as now as the Frontier was blocked to their advance. The Mapuches developed a system of guerilla warfare.

Alonso de Sotomayor, a Spaniard in Chile, wrote to his King Felipe II in 1585 to complain about the Mapuches: "And one can wander for a year and find nothing but an old woman if they don't want to fight, because the terrain is so difficult and they are so free moving and we are so overburdened with supplies, cattle, and attendants that our movements have no effect. And every day they steal our horses."

Within 25 years of the Spaniard's arrival, the Mapuches began to develop their own cavalry, and within a few years they began to use firearms. Their new weapons only added to their main advantage over the Spaniards - their knowledge of the terrain. The Spaniards were unable to make much headway, even though they knew there was much gold in the land of the Mapuches. In another famous quote, a Spaniard governor of Chile wrote to his King: "The war with the Mapuche has cost more than the conquest of all the rest of America."

Indeed it had. In the first hundred years of the war, 29,000 Spaniards and 60,000 mestizo auxiliaries were killed. These were heavy figures for military losses in the 16th and 17th centuries.

Eventually, the Spanish gave up. A series of forts were set along the edge of the Mapuche territory, and an uneasy truce was arranged that lasted until 1884. That year, the White Chileans, now independant from Spain, were finally able to militarily occupy the land of the Mapuche. Thus ended the longest successful native resistance in Latin America.

The occupation accomplished, a reservation system was set up. The Mapuches, used to frequently moving, were told that the land where they were located was theirs and they had to stay there. All "unoccupied" lands were auctioned off to White Chileans. By 1931, a whole series of laws had been passed and the reservation system was complete. The original laws had been modified in order to make it easier for reservations to be broken up. The 1931 law allowed a reservation to be divided if only 1/3 of its inhabitants so desired. Outside landowners frequently tried to bribe a few of the reservations to agree to division. Once this was done, the landowners moved in and bought up individual plots. Usually lawyers were engaged to forge consent

papers, and Mapuches were tricked into signing things they did not understand.

Through these methods, by 1970, over 700 of the 3000 Mapuche reservations had been divided. In addition, almost all reservations had been severely reduced in size due to the theft of the landowners. Most reservations were only a small percentage of the size they had once been.

They continue to speak their complex and expressive language, which is unwritten. The Mapuche men have learned Spanish because of the trade with merchants or through contact with White Chileans when working as seasonal laborers on the landlord's estates. Few Mapuches can read or write Spanish.

On the reservation, oxen and hand made wooden plows are used. Fertilizer is used only about half of the time, and fields have to be used every other year because of the shortage of land. As a result, yields are low. Most Mapuche families earn under \$100 per year. Infant mortality is very high - most Mapuche women have lost one or two children at early ages. Usually death results from severe diarrhea caused by intestinal diseases. Diet consists mainly of bread and mate, as well as vegetable soup. Meat and eggs are rare, cheese and milk almost non-existent.

The Mapuche have gone from a good life to desperate poverty. In some areas, the majority of young men have no land and no jobs. They are forced to work for the landlord of the big farms, when work is available, usually during the harvest. The rest of the year, there are only a few permanent workers on each farm, usually white Chileans. The big farms are often used as summer homes for the landlords, and they are unproductive agriculturally. Often much of the land on the big farms lies fallow, or is used as pasture for a few cattle.

The Mapuche were bitter as they watched this land lie useless while they lived nearby without land and without work.

Under the Frei regime, Mapuche land holdings averaged 10 hectares per family. By 1970, the Mapuche had instituted over 1,000 land claims to Frei's agrarian reform procedure. These claims involved approximately 300,000 hectares. In 1970, Salvador Allende came to power, and signalled a hope that conditions would improve. That hope was shortlived. The Mapuche quickly learned that the Allende government had no real desire to view them as distinct, separate people who were entitled to certain inherent land rights to land and self-government.

Allende promised a massive agrarian reform. The idea was to expropriate the often unproductive big farms and turn them into cooperative which could be more intensively cultivated and employ more peasants. The old landowner would be paid compensation by the State.

In southern Chile, the Mapuches represented almost 70% of the rural population, but held only about 20% of the land. Allende proposed that where the big farms which had been stolen from a nearby reservation, the government would return such land to the reservation at the time of expropriation. Supposedly, the Mapuche would benefit from this action because they would have lands returned to the reservations and have jobs available at the cooperatives.

The reality of Allende's land reform meant that the white landless peasants were obtaining lands and being organized into cooperatives. At the same time, Mapuches were having to use the same reform mechanism to gain return of their lands. If these same lands had been "reformed" prior to a Mapuche claim then their claim was voided. Low level bureaucrats frustrated the Mapuche efforts and aided the white peasants in "reforming" lands stolen from the Mapuche years earlier.

By early 1971, the Mapuche National Confederation decided to end these practices, and began organizing land takeovers. Land reclaiming became a daily occurrence throughout 1971. They began as fence burnings, when the Mapuche moved the fence line at night to regain their stolen lands. Whole Mapuche communities, armed with sticks, shovels, wire cutters and an occasional old rifle, would take a long line of fence and move it hundreds of yards into the adjacent farm in order to restore the old boundary. Then the Mapuche would remain to guard their turf against the landlord. Usually such occupations were done with the aid of the workers of the farm. When the Mapuche had occupied the farm, they immediately set up barricades to prevent the landlord from attacking with a goon squad. The landlords used pick-up trucks and high powered rifles.

Mapuche Prisoners

As of this writing, there are still 15 Mapuches being held prisoner by Pinochet, they are:

Domingo Curapil Arancibia
Hilario Lienlaf Marinao
Victor Mollfinqueo Cayuñilo
Rafael Failef Canio
Florentino Catrilaf Catrilaf
Jose Lawos Lemun
Oscar Llanquel Huentrutripay
Jorge Rafael Leufuman Catripay
Juan C' Manque Munoz
Juan Manquepillan Leufman
Jonas Quintul Queupil
Eliseo Vera Coyopae
Manuel Antivil Huenqueo (Free)
Juan L' Ascencio Rain
Ramon H' Ralil Hanalquin

Individuals, groups, organizations and governments wishing to aid these imprisoned Mapuches should write the Chilean embassy in your country or directly to:

Gen. Pinochet, Edificio Diego Portales, Santiago, Chile.



— Raymond Depardon, Gamma/North American Committee on Latin America's Latin America & Empire Report photo

The Mapuches defended themselves with whatever they could find.

The Allende government responded to the Mapuche pressure by passing legislation which cancelled the old reservation laws, and abolished the old Indian courts. A new agency was set up for the Mapuche, and the law made it more difficult to divide reservations, and much easier to regain stolen lands. The Allende government also carried out publicity campaigns to combat the racism of the white Chileans towards the Mapuches. For the first time in history, a Chilean government was actively helping the Mapuches.

During the three years of the Allende government, about 35% of the useable land in the country was expropriated. This meant that most of the big farms were taken over. In the south, hundreds of cooperatives were formed which employed tens of thousands of people. This massive organization of peasants into cooperatives was very confusing for the Mapuche. As was pointed out earlier, the Mapuche are a very independent people. They have struggled hard to maintain a life style that was independent of Chilean society. Allende's regime continued to view the Mapuche as an integratable resource for the Chilean economy. The Mapuche wanted the return of their lands so they could obtain a firmer grasp upon their independence from Chile. The basic struggle of Indian vs. the West continued.

There were more political freedoms available in Allende's regime. During this time, the Mapuche began to make their position more widely known. Using newspapers, radio programs, and organizing meetings they attempted to inform the Chilean people of their desires. When Allende was overthrown, the "educating" they had hoped to spread was used against them. The Pinochet regime quickly arrested all identifiable Mapuche leaders. At the height of the repressive measures, Mapuches made up 80% of the political prisoner population.

Since the coup most information has been focused upon the tremendous repression of professionals, intellectuals, workers and politicians, but almost nothing

has been said about the Mapuche. Repression against them has been severe, not only on their homelands, but in the capital city where thousands of them have migrated since the turn of the century.

The military gave the expropriated lands back to the landlords. Reservation land was also given to the landlords - mass killings of random groups of Mapuches took place, often on the basis of unsubstantiated rumors that the Mapuche in a given area were hiding arms. Near Pitruquén, a town in southern Chile, dozens of bodies of murdered Mapuches floated down the river while observers in the town saw military trucks loaded with dead bodies coming back from the countryside. The bodies were Mapuches from the reservation in the area of Puraquina where they had been massacred on the basis of an unfounded rumor of armed resistance.

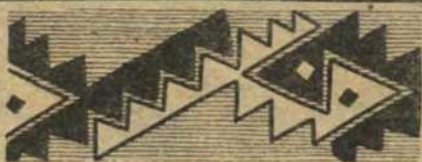
In the past four years, the Mapuches have been forced into a paralyzing situation of poverty. Mapuche land holdings under Pinochet have shrunk to less than one hectare per family, a condition of enforcing servitude to the returned landlords.

U.S. President Gerald Ford justified the CIA's involvement in Chile as being, "in the best interest of the people of Chile and certainly in our best interest."

In November of 1974, the United Nations General Assembly approved a resolution condemning the junta and calling for a release of political prisoners and the restoration of human rights. The U.S. abstained. Since then, the generals, with U.S. support, have continued to defy this high expression of world opinion. The UN Human Rights Commission has been denied the right to enter Chile.

At this time, several thousand Mapuches are living as refugees in Argentina. Hundreds of Mapuche leaders are living in exile in Europe. This is particularly ironic. When these several leaders were forced into exile, the U.S. and Canada refused them entry, now they live in the land from which all their troubles sprang.

BOOK REVIEWS



PEDAGOGY OF THE OPPRESSED

Although this book has been out for several years, we feel compelled to make a comment on it. For some folks this may be a re-hash, but for others it may be their first exposure to this book that we feel needs to be talked about.

PEDAGOGY OF THE OPPRESSED is a very serious work that explains the workings of "oppression." It is one of those books that cuts across nationalities, cultures, and races. It is by no means an easy book to read, because the nature of the world it talks about is complex. The author, Paulo Friere, is a Brazilian who now lives in exile in Geneva, Switzerland. He was sent into exile because of his work at raising the consciousness of Brazilian peasants and Native people, about the nature of the oppression they experience.

The book is a masterful teaching and guideline that should be read by all peoples. It contains some very significant thoughts which relate to the Native struggle in North America. In particular, three processes that are discussed are seen commonly in Indian country. First, the phenomenon of the oppressed acting like the oppressor in the hopes of finding relief from the conditions they live in. This needs to be seen in contexts which extend beyond the individual and in ways which lead to an understanding that entire ways of life are being oppressed. The phenomenon is merely a manifestation of the processes of "dis-interpretation" and "prescription."

The process of "disinterpretation" is explained as a mechanism that an oppressor uses to receive the complaints of the oppressed, then to process those complaints through whatever bureaucracy, or other institution, and then hand down a "prescription" based on the oppressor's analysis.

Two graphic examples, in the U.S., are the Indian Self-Determination and Education Act, and the "American Indian Policy Review Commission." Both are classic in that they use Anglo systems to receive Native people's complaints, those complaints are redefined in accordance with U.S. government goals, and the results include a "prescribing" of how the situation can be resolved.

But these same processes exist whether one is fighting nuclear reactors, land use, or tax laws. The end product remains the same — the continued oppression of the people. The important message in this book is that once an oppressed people understand the nature of their oppression, they are better equipped to take actions that can change that condition. We feel that **PEDAGOGY OF THE OPPRESSED** can be a very important tool for the struggle to maintain human dignity and freedom, and highly recommend it to our readers.

THE REBIRTH OF CANADA'S INDIANS — Harold Cardinal

THE FOURTH WORLD — George Manuel

We are reviewing these two books together for a number of reasons: 1) both men are extremely influential in the affairs of Native people in Canada, 2) both books (and authors) reflect ideologies and strategies that are

examples of the process of oppression in North America, and 3) both need to be seen in the context of the analysis presented in **PEDAGOGY OF THE OPPRESSED**.

Both Manuel and Cardinal are politicians among the Native people of Canada. George Manuel comes from British Columbia, and is a former president of the National Indian Brotherhood. Harold Cardinal comes from Alberta, where he was president of the Alberta Indian Association. In 1976, he left that organization to take a job in the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

REBIRTH OF CANADA'S INDIANS is Mr. Cardinal's second entry in the literary field. His first book, **UNJUST SOCIETY**, was an attempt to analyze the workings of Canadian oppression and to present a Native position for a better life. It sounded tough and somewhat militant in tone, but that was in the past. Coincidentally, Mr. Cardinal's new book was released just prior to his DIA appointment. If the first book was a critique of Canada's treatment of the Native populations, **REBIRTH** must be seen as a call for the assimilation of Native people into Canadian society. Mr. Cardinal urges upon the reader the thesis that Native people, (especially the Cree Nation,) has a stronger sense of being "Canadian" than do non-Indians. He bases that position on the etymology of a Cree word — "Ka-Kansta." As a linguist of the Cree language, or as an interpreter of the World View that the Cree culture holds, Mr. Cardinal, in our opinion, leaves much to be desired.

In his book, **THE FOURTH WORLD**, Mr. Manuel struggles at an attempt to present a global analysis of the conditions of Native peoples. This book first appeared on the market at a time when Mr. Manuel was establishing himself as president of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples. The book tries to argue that there exists a fourth political world composed of indigenous peoples whose countries are under the control of immigrant peoples, a not-too-startling observation. Manuel goes on to state his own somewhat unscholarly premise that the political task of those Fourth World peoples is a move toward assimilation and integration in the interest of economic prosperity.

Both authors argue that the only way that Native, or indigenous, peoples will find freedom is that they will model themselves after their oppressors. Both state a position which requires that Native peoples take on the traits of their oppressors, yet retain their cultures, languages, and uniqueness. If those positions sound confused or contradictory, perhaps it is because the authors are both confused and at the same time manifestations of the contradictions in Canadian Native policy.

Manuel and Cardinal are viewed and promoted by the Canadian government as Native leaders. In such capacities, they are very close to the processes of "disinterpretation" and "prescription" spoken of here. Both books and men are fine examples of how the oppression of a majority (culturally dominant) regime can mold people into strange positions. These books need only be read in the light of understanding that **PEDAGOGY OF THE OPPRESSED** can illuminate in the reader.



contacts



SKYHORSE/MOHAWK DEFENSE COMMITTEE
LEGAL OFFICE
633 So. Shatto Place, Room 209
Los Angeles, Calif. 90005

We the Indians of Indian Nations United of Jackson Prison bring our voice to all concerned Native Americans. We're looking for an enrichment, and awareness in Native American culture, crafts, and Ottawa-Ojibwa Algonquian speaking language. We are in need of support with funds, literature, and your voice. Feel free to write at any time to me in seeking information in regards to INU, Makwa Stevens, No. 135003, P.O. Box E, Jackson, Michigan 49204

Annette and Akio Henderson of A & A Traders, Smithtown, N.Y., please contact me
Ne-ba-e-naj, aka Alan Little Raven, No. 93949, P.O. Box 97, McAlester, Ok 74501

Patricia Gilson Green would like organic growers among the tribes to contact her with information and addresses, approximate prices, and months available. She is putting together a directory for people interested in organic produce. Her address is: Patricia Gilson Green, 511 Simonton St., Key West, Fla. 33040

Would the following persons please contact Kaientares at AKWESASNE NOTES:

Michael Hittman, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201
Daphne Kroehling, Lindenwood, N.J. 08021
Thomas Hilton, Western Spring, Ill. 60558
Norman E. Irod, Switzerland
Ben Whiting, Whiting Ma 04691
Byron Harvey, Cambridge Mass 02138
Lon R. Hunt, Charlottesville, Va. 22903
Grace Shandra, E. Hartford, Conn 06118
Tim Fleming, Pendleton, Ore 97801
Gail & Howard Taylor, New Preston, Conn

George Haling, N.Y., N.Y. 10016
Carol Payne, Ogden, Utah 84401
Peggy Robbins, Edmonton, Alberta
Lucius Walker, Jr., N.Y., N.Y. 10027
Wessel Huisman, Netherlands
Gary Null, N.Y., N.Y.
Lois Herring, Portland, Ore. 97210
Theodore M. Edison, West Orange, N.J.

Nan Simonyi, Ottawa, Ont.
Frank Waters, Taos, N.M. 87571
Kathleen Fegan, Bronx N.Y. 10462
Elizabeth L. Henry, APO N.Y. 09154
Manfred Oswald, Germany
Franco Meli, Italy
Mary Ellen Lance, Manchester, Mass 01944
Jeanne Oliver, Riverside, RI 02915
Kenny Diver, Lillasvagen Sweden,
Martha Hernandez, Chicago, Ill 60606

The Vancouver Defense Committee
for Leonard Peltier
% Elisabeth Clarke
1033 Stafford
COQUITLAM, B.C. 936 2904

Want to hear from my friend, Charlie Case, an Ottawa Indian formerly of Holton, Muskegon, and Grand Rapids, Michigan — sometimes Chicago. Write Tom Halley, 3368 West Giles, Muskegon, Mich. 49445

The Boston Indian Council has a foster care program and they are seeking Indian foster parents in the Boston-Worcester-Lowell Massachusetts area. For further information contact: Suzanne Letendre, Director of Foster Care, Boston Indian Council, 105 S. Huntington Ave, Jamaica Plain, Boston, Mass. 02130, tel. (617) 232-0343

I am a Huron and am very interested in being contacted by Huron people, so I may learn more about my people and my heritage. I would be pleased to be contacted at:
Fort Ticonderoga
5337 Woodbine Ave.
Dayton, Ohio 45432

Dagmar Haselwander, Formesstr. 3 la, 5 Koln 80, Germany, is looking for her friend Glenn Benoit or Wahi Aganage of Oklahoma.

he recruitment committee of the Oklahoma Library Association is actively seeking young Native American men and women who have an interest in the library profession. Contact Mrs. Sheila Wilder Hoke, OLA Recruitment Committee Chairman, Southwestern Oklahoma State University Library, Weatherford, Oklahoma 73096.

I am trying to locate Dawn Yellowbank. If you could help me out in any way I'd appreciate it very much.
James Yellowbank
4521 N. Sheridan Rd.
Chicago Ill. 60640
(312) 878-8535

Lisa Forbis, 4812 Hall, Amarillo, Texas, 79109, would like to contact Robert High Eagle of Wakpala, S.D.

NEW RESIDENT AT GANENKEH

A new son was born in the new home of Kakwirakeron and Eptoine of Ganienkeh Territory. This is their seventh child and the first child born since the move to the new settlement.

VOICES FROM THE EARTH

As the official replacement of "White Roots of Peace," **VOICES FROM THE EARTH** is carrying on the work of travelling and presenting the message of the Native people. We plan our trips twice a year, in the early Spring (March — April) and the late Fall (November — December). This allows us time to work on the paper and also to tend our gardens and other activities.

Our group ranges in size from 7 to 16 persons. In this way, we have a number of speakers, singers, and other persons with which to make our presentations. An average day for the group consists of presenting several talks or leading discussion groups, guest lecturing in classes, conducting a crafts show and sale, showing films, and an evening presentation go a general audience. We have found that we can communicate to a large number of people and also provide an experience and insight into the direction of the Native movement from several viewpoints. Since our beginning we have logged over 400,000 miles and have visited hundreds of campuses, communities, and organizations. We feel that we have had an opportunity to bring about better understanding of the Native peoples, their goals and desires, and possibly, we have helped to show some alternatives to the conditions we all face as human beings. Our Spring 1977 tour through the East Coast, Florida, the Midwest, and the Southwest is being organized now.

For further details please contact:

Yonahwaylut
c/o AKWESASNE NOTES
Mohawk Nation
via: Roosevelttown, N.Y. 13683
tel. (518) 483-2540

There Has Been No Split

In December, 1968, Mohawks at Akwesasne blocked the International Bridge to Cornwall Island to protest Canadian restrictions against free border-crossing for Native peoples as guaranteed under the Jay Treaty. It was necessary at that time to hustle out information to raise support for the fifty persons arrested, and an 8½ X 14" offset reproduction of news clippings about the protest was mailed out.

The first few issues were pasted up in Putney, Vermont, at the Antioch-Putney Graduate School. The person most responsible for the pasting and selection of news articles was a man named Gerald Thomas Gambill. A former Department of Indian Affairs (Canada) community development worker who apparently fell into disfavor with the D.I.A. over his stand in giving recognition to the Longhouse people.

For the next eight years, Mr. Gambill was a significant force in the development of AKWESASNE NOTES, writing many of its editorials. People at Akwesasne, however, don't know, even today, very much about him. It is known that he was born in Flint, Michigan, and he has a graduate degree (probably from Antioch) in some psychology-related field. He worked at some point in a mental hospital. He moved to Canada to take a job with the Department of Indian Affairs, a position for which he was urged to obtain landed immigrant status. He is non-Indian.

Then, in 1969, following a White Roots of Peace trip, Gerald Gambill was refused admission into the United States by border officials. For a while, Canadian officials were also reluctant to allow him to return to Canada, but after a few hours they relented.

A few days later, in the heat of the controversy over the illegal activities of both U.S. and Canadian border officials, the Mohawk Nation at Akwesasne gathered in council and, after some debate, the Bear Clan adopted Gerald T. Gambill into the Mohawk Nation. He was given the name "Rarihokwats," which in English means "He Digs Up Information." He promised, in turn, that he would follow the rules of adoption of the Mohawk Nation.

Adoption into one of the nations is a great honor, but it is also widely misunderstood. The procedure is one which is intended as a protection by and an alliance with the Nation. It is the offering of a family and the right to reside with and under the protection of the laws of the Nation, and is usually bestowed upon an individual who has proven to be of great benefit to the people. The adoptee is required to be a helper of the people, to support the work of the Nation, and to follow, in the case of an adoptee of the Mohawk Nation, the Great Law of Peace.

But there are some restrictions. One is forbidden, for example, to swear allegiance to another nation's laws, or to act in the name of the Nation without the Nation's specific instructions to do so. And the protection which it offers and the honor it bestows extends only as far as the borders of the Mohawk Nation — when one leaves the territory of the Mohawks, one leaves behind all that belongs to the Mohawks also, including the name and the honors and the things which belong to the People.

The early 1970s were troubled times for the Native people, locally and nationally. The new AKWESASNE NOTES rose quickly to national prominence, as did the travelling group, the White Roots of Peace. The newspaper grew from a printing of 10,000 in October of 1969 to a printing of 56,000 by October of 1973. During that period it evolved from a clipping service to a news magazine, with the capability of producing its own news articles, a capability made possible with the acquisition of typesetting equipment. During that period, AKWESASNE NOTES also began publishing posters and books and a calendar, and became a major distributor of books on Native subjects.

The new Rarihokwats also rose quickly to national attention. Shedding his former identity, he assumed the role of a major spokesperson for Native causes throughout the United States. He seemed to work selflessly for the traditional people, inspiring many locally and nationally. He travelled tirelessly in an attempt to explain to non-Indian people the Native way of Life, and he made many friends, both among Native people and non-Native peoples in the process. He became, in time, the most widely recognized spokesperson on Native affairs in the Western Hemisphere, a fact that was reflected in his acquisition of a seat in association with the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

In September of 1972, officials from the FBI, the IRS, and the U.S. Immigration Service descended upon Hogansburg and arrested him for illegal entry into the United States based on allegations that he was holding a position of employment which should rightfully belong to a United States citizen. The Mohawk people rallied to

his defense, testifying at an Immigration hearing that he was immune to United States laws concerning immigration because he was under the protection of the Mohawk Nation. He was held in jail for several days, released on bail, and as a result of the testimony of Native people, an administrative judge of the Immigration Department handed down a decision which allowed him to continue to work in the United States in association with AKWESASNE NOTES.

But there were other kinds of problems also. Some Native people claimed that he was dictatorial and almost impossible to work with. There were allegations to the effect that he was not always completely candid when giving reports, that he utilized a peculiar gift of eloquence to confuse and obscure issues which concerned community people, and that he often acted with insensitivity to the concerns of the Mohawk people. Native people who came to work for NOTES, especially those who came to do political work with the newspaper, did not last long. Most departed on a sour note. Whenever there was a disagreement, many report that the disagreement was resolved in Rarihokwats' favor because he was able to threaten that if things did not go his way, he was ready to leave as editor of AKWESASNE NOTES. For most of that time, no one was prepared to take that responsibility, and things continued on as before.

The one thing that is probably certain in this story is that things probably would not have, in any case, gone on forever in this way. By the summer of 1976, there were virtually no full-time Native staff working in the areas of production or administration of AKWESASNE NOTES, although there was a staff of at least five persons in those areas. It is possible that this situation was not entirely acceptable to Rarihokwats, for early that summer he wrote a long letter to a Native man, offering him the position of editor of AKWESASNE NOTES. He also outlined his own concepts of leadership for Native communities, stating that he believed that leadership was provided by charismatic leaders whose decisions were unchallenged and unchallengeable by his followers. Native people began arriving at NOTES during Autumn of that year with the serious objective of learning the operations which have come to be called AKWESASNE NOTES. Some of those people had been major contributors to NOTES for several years, others had long experience in the Native movements, and still others who came possessed training in newspaper production operations.

The arrival of new people inevitably gave rise to a number of conflicts. It is probable that the essential conflict involved the reluctance of people to adopt unquestioning obedience to theories of Native life from a personality who had never lived in a Native way and who had shown no signs of attempting to do so. Another problem would probably be identified as a class conflict by those inclined to use such terms: the people who often found themselves doing the physical work seemed to be Indians, and those who were doing the mental work appeared to be non-Indians. Some Native people complained that the Colonial system had found rebirth at AKWESASNE NOTES.

Initial disagreements grew more intense as it became increasingly obvious that decisions were often made for questionable reasons. The staff began circulating wry jokes about the king's "we." There were some areas of humor in the situation: NOTES acquired a reputation in some circles as a place where some people would engage in a holier-than-thou kind of conversation which centered around which people did and which did not utilize toilet paper. (The holier ones being those who did not.) But for the most part the disagreements were sparked by deeper conflicts. An aura had come to permeate NOTES, an aura of expected sacrifice wherein to be cold and to keep the houses cold in sub-zero weather was held to be a virtue while babies crawled around on the floor showing symptoms of bronchitis. Some complained that charismatic leadership had

degenerated to a dictatorship of whim. There was much discontent.

Then, in February, 1977, the White Roots of Peace went on tour. The details surrounding the actual history of that trip are both contradictory and conflicting, but several facts are undeniable. Rarihokwats was in charge of the tour. Upon its return, he gave a report to the staff of AKWESASNE NOTES and many of the leaders of the Longhouse at Akwesasne which was challenged by some members of the staff as being both misleading and inaccurate. Rarihokwats returned in June to give a second report, promising a full explanation of all the points in conflict. He stated that he had become "confused" at the time of his initial report, and that he had "panicked" while the tour was on the road, and offered a second report. That report was also challenged as containing inconsistencies. He promised to come back the following day with documentation to support his position. He left, and he never returned.

Attempts were made to contact him to answer allegations that he had misused his position at AKWESASNE NOTES in order to form a new travelling group. He denied those allegations by mail while acting out a major role in the forming of a new group called THE FOUR ARROWS which he promoted as the "new" White Roots of Peace. The Mohawk council attempted to recall him to answer questions about his behavior. He refused to return.

Dozens, perhaps hundreds, of letters were sent by him to NOTES supporters throughout the world, stating that he was innocent of accusations which were not at the heart of the conflict. Notices were sent to journals throughout the U.S. describing a "split" at AKWESASNE NOTES, implying somewhat immodestly that his departure constituted a split. The Mohawk Council advised the staff of AKWESASNE NOTES to withhold publication of information concerning Rarihokwats until some final and fair determination could be made in disposition of the matter.

Following numerous councils and much correspondence, that determination was reached in Council on November 5, 1977. On that day, the Mohawk Council decided to release Gerald Thomas Gambill from his responsibilities to the Mohawk Nation, to recall the name "Rarihokwats" and to return him to the people from which he had come. It was a serious matter to all concerned, and a conclusion not reached lightly. With that action, a nine-year drama of friendship and struggle, of minor victory and sometimes crushing setbacks, of inspiration and disillusionment, had come to a close. In the country of the Hau de no sau nee, Rarihokwats is no more.

There have been many enquiries by our friends and supporters in this matter. The official position here is that Gerald T. Gambill no longer holds the name Rarihokwats, and he is no longer associated with AKWESASNE NOTES in any way. He has not worked on the paper since February, 1977. We express no antagonism toward the Native people who travel with the Four Arrows and we recognize that some of those people are doing valuable work for Native causes, and are trying to advance the movement toward a more natural way of life. But we must also state at this time that AKWESASNE NOTES has no attachment to or any interest in that group, that the group does not in any way support or promote AKWESASNE NOTES, nor do we know the purpose of the group in raising money.

To many people who read this, it will sound like the story of a white man who came into conflict with some Indians over the publication of a Native newspaper, and who was, probably unfairly, the loser in that conflict. But here, the feeling is that the process was far from that simple. He had won our trust, confidence and friendship through his strong and consistent work in the interest of the Nations. And he lost that trust, confidence, and friendship when those things became no longer important to him, and when he had apparently perceived that his own mission was more important than his responsibilities to the People.



LETTERS



Notes:

Here I am — supposedly a writer — gaping at the July '77 issue (not for the first time!) and completely speechless. Not that the emotions aren't there, oh no; in fact that curious mixture of anger, idealism, hope, cynicism, and despair has clogged me up from belly to throat. That "Ultimate Consequence" dredged up in your editorial is ever in my mind (and the minds of close friends) too. Perhaps, from your perspective, it is not such a startling occurrence for a newspaper to face this 'question.' (But for me, having dived unhappily in so many papers, magazines, and the like, including yours) which — even while they reported of serious acts leading us all towards a grim earth-bound purgatory — always avoided a look at the "ultimate consequence". I don't know which spirits to thank now that someone: YOU have come out and voiced all of our minds. For now I guess I'll just have to thank you.

Forgive me, please, for all the time I've wasted, ...we can send tools, towels, clothes, and anything you feel a group of "ultimate consequence" minded freespirts could use. Thank you NOTES for telling us we are not alone. May we tell you, also, that you are not alone. V. Kessler-Grice & friends

Friends:

The Autumn 1977 issue is loaded with important insights. Thanks for publishing the three position papers that the Six Nations delegation presented in Geneva.

A particularly well-written article is the one on "The True Mission of the FBI." Dissenters and moral critics must be warned that the authorities are not about to cease their dirty tricks and efforts to exterminate all who question inequity and injustice.

With renewed courage we must learn better how to defend ourselves and all disadvantaged. Only when we cease looking to the establishment for their crumbs; only when people organize themselves to obtain their rights will we begin to witness the removal from power those who rip us off.

Until that glorious time, power-and-profit mad individuals will in an increasingly sophisticated manner torment all peoples. Continue to warn! Continue to educate!

Gordon A Chapman
1509 Mass Ave NW
Washington, DC 20005



Sehkon:

This [vol. 9, no. 3], is about the best issue ever. Especially now that you have begun to print VICTIMS OF PROGRESS. Bodley says it all. When he finishes, there's nothing left to say. Another reason NOTES must survive is so that they can continue to print VICTIMS, especially Chapter 9: "Human Zoos, Living Museums, and Real People," since it deals with problems of sovereignty and cultural autonomy in areas such as Ganienkeh.

Pakwenurgian! Ehe!

Charles E. Colcord
NAMI
150 West 96 St., Apt 11-b
New York, New York 10025

NOTES:

I would like to briefly comment on your article "The Darkening Horizons." In your attempts to describe "some of the unfortunate secondary effects" (as some white academics would have it) of American technology, you have in some sense made a monster out of technology, as if it would be an entity with volitive power.

Without laying a heavy rap, it would seem appropriate to me to underline that technology has been developed to sustain capitalist accumulation and that some time and energy should be spent in exploring those aspects.

"Technology" is but the summing up (of a myriad of partial advances and discoveries made in scattered centers. The motivation (indirect and unconscious often but nonetheless the underlying current) for those research efforts, the funding for experimentation and the structures for development and implementation are all connected to the underlying structure of our system. Capitalist ideology and capitalistic forms of production are responsible for the "ecological destruction," (the white man had to invent this pseudo-scientific vocabulary to deal with what should be awe in the face of Mother Earth's destruction,) not technology.

Comradly in struggle,

Jose Alberro
3236 N. Oakley
Chicago Illinois 60618

Dear Editor:

Readers of AKWESASNE NOTES might be interested in the following quote from Henry R. Schoolcraft's book *Journal of a Tour into the Interior of Missouri and Arkansas* which was published in 1821. Schoolcraft made the journey in 1818 and 1819. He writes:

"The white hunter, on encamping in his journeys, cuts down green-trees, and builds a large fire of long logs, sitting at some distance from it. The Indian hunts up a few dry limbs, cracks them into little pieces a foot in length, builds a small fire, and sits close by it. He gets as much warmth as the white hunter, without half the labour, and does not burn more than a fiftieth part of the wood. The Indian considers the forest his own, and is careful in using and preserving everything which it affords. He never kills more meat than he has occasion for. The white hunter destroys all before him, and cannot resist the opportunity of killing game, although he neither wants the meat, nor can carry the skins. This is one of the causes of the enmity existing between the white and red hunters of Missouri."

Yours sincerely,
Schuyler Jones
Oxford, England

Editor:

If one gives a wrong etymology of a word and that etymology, or original meaning, is highly negative, then innocent readers will believe it and begin to hate that word just because they have been led that way. Such is the case with "Christopher Columbus" in your Autumn 1977 issue of NOTES, on p. 6, col 1 near the bottom, in which is stated: "even his name was prophetic to the world he encountered — Christopher Columbus translates to 'Christ-bearer Colonizer'." The first name is translated properly, but the second is nonsense and misleading. I have visions of Indians in distant corners of North America now hating "Columbus" when its real meaning is unabashedly good: DOVE!

Think of all the connotations that DOVE brings forth! Columbus is the masculine form from Latin *Columba*, dove or pigeon, which went to Italian *Colomba* and the surname *Colomba*, which then went to Spanish *colón*. Now Spanish for dove is *paloma*, *paloma*. But *colón* preserves the Italian and has nothing to do with *colono*, a colonist. (See E.C. Smith, *New Dictionary of American Family Names*, 1973.) Please get the people away from hating something for hate's sake and put it where injustices need righting, yet your NOTES does do that too!

I hope you print this letter.
Megwitch
Carl Masthay

Brothers and Sisters:

I have now received and read your two most recent issues and I must say at this time my heart soars like the eagle to know of the strong hearts of the Akwesasne Notes! I am presently in the Coast Guard and do not have the chances to keep myself informed on the plights of my fellow human beings.

Many Native Americans speak of their religion, they tell of their story about their fathers father and how he held council with his Brother Buffalo. How they had learned the respect of mankind through the teachings of the cloud and through the wisdom and strength of the Great Red Oak, they speak of their fathers father's true love and undying respect for the One known to them as the "Sacred One" Mother Earth!

These spiritual symbols are the Living Bible of the Human Beings and it lives today! I would like to suggest to you and all Native Americans a closer relationship with the religion of the Red Man and with the Creator of all. Some noted religious speeches by noted religious leaders of the past and present! at!

Lionel Little Eagle
3920 Red Bluff no. 152
Pasadena, Texas 77505

Notes:

We were really glad to see the article on Sid Welsh in the latest issue of NOTES.

Sid is going for pre-trial motions in Riverside Superior Court on Nov. 22, but his trial has been put off until sometime in January. He recently received some information from the FBI as the result of a request under the Freedom of Information Act. It wasn't much, though, because he "is still under investigation" and they did not want to jeopardize their information sources.

In Struggle,
Roxanne Welse for the
Native American Defense Committee
4957 Desmond St.
Oakland, Ca. 94618

Notes:

I would like to put this in the next issue, I've kept to myself for 13 years. My 3 daughters were taken from me by white Mormons. I had an attorney, who dismissed himself because the case was too difficult for him. It is a difficult case, and a long story. I would like to hear from other mothers whose children have been taken away. I haven't seen them for 13 years. Only mothers know the anguish I'm going through.

I do have my own attorney now. I am in college and some day plan to do something about this.

Thank You!
Thelma Tree Top
1325 Moline St.
Aurora, Colo 80010

Peltier Writes:

Greetings to all my brothers and sisters:

In late June, I was assigned a cell in the United States Penitentiary at Marion, Illinois. I've had a chance to look around for a month or so and I would like to share some of my experiences with you. First off the Revolution is a long way from here.

They took my name and tried to replace it with a number: 89637-137. This is the government's experimental behaviour modification centre for political prisoners. Their Number One Maxi-Kamp. The baddest one they've got. They kept about 500 captives here under the tightest security ever devised by the evil genius of man. No matter where you go you are never out of sight of your captors. TV cameras are everywhere. Two-way microphones pick up almost every word you utter. A very wierd thing to get used to. A Clockwork Orange. Complete control.

The roll call here reads like the dedication page of *Prairie Fire*. I enjoy the company of Rafael Cancel Miranda, the Puerto Rican Nationalist, who has the distinction of being one of the longest held political prisoners in contemporary American history. There are six Native American brothers here besides myself. One of them, Alfred Smith, is in the dreaded Control Unit. The Control Unit has about 70 sealed-tomb tiger cages, many of them constructed with closed steel fronts so that they are virtually sound-proof. These are sensory deprivation chambers and they are used to cage human mammal organisms for very long periods of time.

Brothers are sent to these cages from all over the federal system for experiments in brain tampering.

Hiller Hayes has been on deadlock in the Control Unit for 5 and 1/2 years. The most sadistic thing about this type of solitary confinement is that you are in the cage 23 and 1/2 hours of every day. Alone. Men go mad. Some commit suicide. Others only mutilate themselves. The prisoners in the Control Unit have filed a law suit in federal court to see if the judge will think these terms of confinement are unconstitutional. A decision is due almost any day now. We hope to see the court ban that draconia forever and return our brothers to us.

But that's enough of this gloomy talk. I want to visit with my brothers and sisters on some important matters. I hear the puppet — Indian Dick Wilson, is going strong with his campaign. Who could be supporting him with plenty of funds but the U.S.. They can't forget how good they had it before with their front man. The U.S. is a past master at buying stooges to front them in order to legitimize their greedy rip-off of the people. I wish him the worst of luck.

Today, I was told by a non-Indian brother: "You Indians will have to rid yourselves of all that spiritual hocus-pocus before you can liberate yourselves from the yoke of the oppressor."

I didn't know whether to laugh or cry. I didn't know whether to hit him, shake his hand, or pat him on the head like a retarded billy goat. I decided to think on it for a while.

Looking East from the Prison yard through the starkness of double gates, concertina wire, and deadly

gun towers, I smile at the deer who had come out of the woods to graze. I thought how beautiful and complete Mother Earth is. I would sooner give up my eyes, never to see those four-legged romping and playing in the rays of the setting sun, than to abandon the good and living power of our Spiritual ways. Only a non-Indian could imagine a separation between the life in his body and the Great Spirit in all living things. Get rid of it indeed! It was then I decided to laugh... and laugh I did.

Jails are not nice places to be, and we must remember that thousands of our people are in prison for resisting the genocidal policies of the U.S. We should support our brothers and sisters in prisons and jails all over the U.S. and Canada. Let's don't forget folks like Johnson Warledo, Mike Sturdevant, Dick Marshall, Herb Powless, Skyhorse and Mohawk, to name just a few. All Native People are political prisoners whether they know it or not. They all deserve our support.

The U.S. thinks they can stop our movement by locking us in a cell, but they are wrong. We will resist with our lives the outright murders, the theft of our lands, the forced sterilizations — we will have justice rather than more lies, deceit, and broken treaties. We will continue to fight for complete sovereignty — nothing less than Nationhood — and so long a Mother Earth provides and the Great Spirit guides there is not a power on earth that can stop us!

In the Spirit of Crazy Horse,
Gwarth-ee-laas,
Leonard Peltier

A New Book

A BASIC CALL TO CONSCIOUSNESS

This book is the latest publication of AKWESASNE NOTES. It is a compilation of the three position papers of the Hau de no sau nee, or Six Nations, and contains what is probably the most concise and comprehensive critique of Western Civilization through Native eyes in print, with a prologue from the editors of AKWESASNE NOTES. This book will be available in late January, 1978. \$2.00



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AKWESASNE NOTES is proud to offer what is probably the finest line of authentic Native crafts available anywhere in North America. Of special interest is the line of hand crafted baskets made of black ash splints and sweet grass. Mohawk basket makers are world famous for their excellent craftsmanship and produce baskets of a quality unsurpassed at any price. These baskets are authentic products made for practical use and the pack baskets, especially, are light-weight, sturdy, and in every way superior to any of the back-pack apparatus made of canvas or aluminum. Other baskets which are available include corn washing baskets, storage baskets, and fancy ewing baskets. There are also kettle baskets, pin cushions, and strawberry baskets.

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When our 1978 calendar came back recently from the printers, it became immediately evident that our resident artist, Kahonhes (John Fadden) had outdone himself once again. Since 1969, when his work first began appearing in NOTES, Kahonhes' drawings have become something of a trademark for us. Our Third Class mail invariably brings some other magazine or newspaper that has reprinted one of them and in this way, we find our total work growing and strengthened.

We are always proud and happy when that happens. His distinctive line drawings are not only pretty to look at and pleasing to the eye — but the careful observer will also glean from them much visual detail about Iroquois culture and history.

Every one of his drawings for the 1978 calendar, for instance, depicts a scene of traditional Iroquois self-sufficiency — an attempt to give an authentic visual sense of the way of life of our people. Every tool, every

OUR OWN PUBLICATIONS



Voices From Wounded Knee: The People Are Standing Up

This is the story of the liberation of Wounded Knee in the words of the participants, culled from hours of tape recorded while the occupation was in progress, accompanied by 200 striking photographs and several maps. This account is essential reading for anyone who wants to understand this episode of the struggle for human dignity and freedom in North America. Peter Lemon in the *Los Angeles Free Press* says: "A record of anger and courage, of pride and humanity, to be read with compassion and shame — and feelings of the heart for the greatness which broods upon the Sioux Reservation." 282 large-sized pages, \$4.95.

Turtle, Bear and Wolf

A new book of poems by Peter Blue Cloud, former poetry editor of AKWESASNE NOTES. Songs of reverence and affirmation, taut as a bowstring.

Gary Snyder says of this book: "Glimmering from below, in these poems, like the moon in the water, is that special eye, that light, which is of the true Mind-nature; human nature one with Mother Nature which is no particular nature. On this continent, the teaching is taught in the Old Way. Blue Cloud does nothing glamorous. He lives in the present, totally." \$1.75.

Native Colours

A book of poetry by Karoniaktatie. "He is an explorer with an open and unique perspective. If you remember the search to find your own hill, or valley, or garret (Karoniaktatie calls it 'a place to plant my seeds') — or if you're still looking — this collection could add some insights and fresh directions to your journey. 'in time you'll wonder/in time you shall/travel/in time you will/cease...' The approach here binds two cultures — it is an interesting marriage, enhanced by Karoniaktatie's striking designs and illustrations." pages. \$2.50.

BIA: I'm Not Your Indian Anymore

A fresh new printing of this important book is in. Part of it, the story of the occupation of the BIA takeover in November, 1972, is now history. But out of that came the Twenty Points of the Trail of Broken Treaties, still the most comprehensive platform of "What do the Indians want" available. The Twenty Points, plus the government's rebuttal and a reply to that, are essential dialogue for the decade ahead. \$1.95

A Message To All People: Hopi

The Hopi Prophecy is important to all peoples today, for as we understand what has happened to human life in previous worlds, and in the days following the Creation of this one, we can better understand what we human beings need to do today. A different sort of history from that in the textbooks. This new edition is in newly-set type illustrated by Kahonhes. \$1.00

Chimborazo: Life On the Haciendas of Highland Ecuador. 66 pp. \$2.00, paperback. Published by AKWESASNE NOTES. Edited by John Brandt, with translations by Michael Scott and Mal Warwick.

This book offers an unusual treatment of life in an Indian community in South America, with some serious and introspective commentary by the author. "I almost feel too damn educated and intellectual for this job. Because, for example, I want to start always with the most tangible problems: dividing the land, what to do with the hacienda, the water, the pasture, etc. But these people have never been allowed to make decisions. What they want is for us to tackle their problems, and after they learn that we can't, there is always a let-down. And they come around again, the ones that are really concerned; they begin to decipher what has been passed on to them during the last few hundred years; they think of their grandfathers, they see their fathers, themselves; they think of their own sons. 'Who am I, an Indian?' they ask... And during these instances is when I feel almost blessed to be here." With photographs and poetry.

Six Nations Indian Museum Series

The Great Law of Peace

This is the Constitution of the Iroquois Confederacy, portions of which were adopted in the U.S. Constitution. It is a statement of morals, spiritual belief, and government which is 1,000 years old — and which remains valid for use today. 84 pages, paperbound. Illustrated by Kahonhes. \$1.25

The Migration of the Iroquois

Pictographic writing and text in English, with handsome drawings of Iroquois life by Kahonhes, detailing a chapter of North American history — how the Iroquois migrated from the west to the northeast. Newly reprinted, .75 cents.

Deskaheh

A new book in this series, detailing the life of the Cayuga statesman who went to the League of Nations in Switzerland in the 1920s to present the case of sovereignty for the Iroquois peoples. He was exiled from Canada and died in the U.S. His last famous speech is reprinted. Illustrated by Kahonhes. 50 cents.

Tales Of The Iroquois

This attractive collection of fifteen teaching legends of the Iroquois is part of the Six Nations Indian Museum Series published by AKWESASNE NOTES. The book is 99 pages, softbound cover, with striking illustrations by Kahonhes. The tales are as Tehanetorens remembers them being told to him. For many of them, along with the text, are pictographs which tell the story — and aid non-readers in remembering the story. *Tales of the Iroquois* is a unique gift for children or adults and is excellent for use in classrooms. ISBN 0-914838-14-8. \$2.50.

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WUNIISH / GO IN BEAUTY

Wuniish, Grandfather.

Wuniish to a world that was not
entirely lost to me while you were alive,
a world that put its face to the sky and smiled,
a world of grace and confidence.
The silent past that grazed
like a doe at dusk on the ghostly meadows
has blinked into the secret wood.

Wuniish to the weatherbrown house
wading in waves of goldenrod and yarrow,
to country lanes beckoning through forgotten summers
across the borders of blackbird and wild grape,
to the guiding call of a distant crow deep
within the timeless forests of the Cohannet and Assonet,
by the Council Oak, Anawon's Rock, and Metacomet's Cave
(the arrowhead treasures hidden under the seasons)
by the sands of the Pokanoket, "bitter-water bays,"
ancient shores of the Mettapoisset and Pocasset.

Wuniish to rainy day adventures by the glowing hearth,
legends of our People, tales of Maushop, Wampanoag fables
(our little relatives in the waters, the woods, and the winds).

Wuniish to cool stables smelling of leather and dung,
to windstung iceboats slicing Winnicunnet Pond,
to the hot and salty climb for blueberries on Scargo Hill,
and braiding the sweetgrass from fiddlercrab marshland,
singing to the fish from a dory on the full moon tides,
speaking to the Sacred Rock above the wrinkling bay,
leaving offerings at sunset in the burying ground by the lake,
that the Nobscusset Old Ones might know we remember.

Wuniish to the grumbling laconic humor,
to the wistful yesterdream remembrance of Grandmother,
to the whole, simple, storied world that died
too soon and left him alone.

Wuniish to the boy
who found the visions of a people in Grandfather's eyes.
No one should think it strange that when I became a man
Grandfather and I together sought that boy and his dreams.
Now the grandfather is gone the boy will not be found again,
and only I am left to keep the visions and recount the dreams.

— Manitongquat (Medicine Story)

Shards lay in the rain like fallen leaves.
3 Hawks pass overhead:
darker against a dark sky.

Broken vessels
remind me
of odors and textures
we once knew better ...
of how much we have lost between sounds.

Hawks winging
remind me
of the flights into exile
our history has endured,
and
of those we experience
internally
when we seek to name ourselves.

and the rain?
well, it reminds me
that
the Spirit cannot be
bargained for like peace
nor
compromised like the land.

The Spirit like the rain
does not die,
even if
our Vision passes,
confused and sad,
or if
our children forget our songs.

—Shawnat



EYE OF GOD

Sway song
Chant of the old
Breaths of ancestors
Whisper the shore
Rays of memories
Pass in aurora.
Grandfather speaks
of yesterday
The legend moonlight hunts.
Oh, morning
My spirit draws near you
The rain clears the air
and my heart feels
the sun.
Long ago the waves
were saltier
and the People strong.

—Jim Tollerud (Makah)

SHIYOOSH; GRANDMOTHER

In the eloquence of silence, there evolved in my soul
the conception of reason

Your wisdom and knowledge we dismissed as the manifests
engulfed us.

You magnified and personified the harvest of Norbexxa

Had life prevailed, existence diminished, death extended

The presence of movement, yet entombed by manifests

Faith that constricts and imprisons my soul

Faith that constricted Maqwah —

Maqwah, as he sought to preserve the soul —

There she sat, imprisoning, overcoming with love,
barricading with love, overwhelming with love:

"Thy will be mine."

Had faith or love wavered

Maqwah, man-thing yet of the spirit: to fear you is to
perish, to doubt is death, to believe is immortality,
is then immortality the achievement?

Shiyoosh, you were blessed, minds cannot endure,
the ages have claimed you

Baca, lost, wept, the cry of the desolate

Foretelling, lamenting

Baca, Maqwah, Shiyoosh, you are embraced within the
recesses of her mounds, there to nourish our dreams

—Wawpishtikwawn (Betty Laverdure)

that shack!
an Indian lodge!

love lived there
simmering in a pot

of corn soup
& coffee brewed

the People came
to eat and drink

your father
told stories
& the children
laughed
between bites
of fry bread

memory pieces
your mother's
quilting frame —
a monument to art

my flesh is cut
by prairie winds
of our warm winter
there

— P.J. Brown
Wi i ni napa

native child/moment in a life

arlene grasps my finger
secrets lie inside that mountain
and curl in blackblue strands —
of hair flying behind

wetgrass sucks in rain
quietly

humming newmade songs
we rest on sweetgrass
youngeyed old men wipe
their mouths to sing

my past skitters out
of me now, it is revealed

moments will endure, truly
clutch at this time before
our lives are impaled, only
braided men chant that song

"she'll be going down to
chilocco . . . that school soon"

it is a trap of simple string
see, how they hold in her chest
and songs, send her off to that
school yes give her that ugly life

if the heart is let free
the moment will
the song will

endure

—Leilani Sauter

NEW YORK CHRISTMAS 1974

Four came to sing
Strappling young men smiling
"We wish you a merry Christmas..."
"We wish you a merry Christmas..."

We were visiting when they knocked.
Mercado ran down and gave them a dollar.
"We wish you a merry Christmas..."

"It's a nice custom," we said.
"Yeah," he shrugged. "You don't
give them something they break
your picture window."

"And a happy New Year!"

— Ismaelillo